Scenarios of Encounter:

Place, Performance, and Commemoration

in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa and London

Huw Alun Rowlands

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Department of Geography

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Declaration of Authorship

I, Huw Rowlands, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed: ___  _____

Date: _____14 December 2020_____

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Ko Lochnagar te maunga

Ko Dee te awa

Ko Forbes te iwi

Ko Michie te hapū

Ko Huw toku ingoa

Kia ora

Abstract

Cross-cultural encounters are active processes of place making. In this thesis, commemorations and histories of cross-cultural encounter are understood as performances which may perpetuate or challenge prevailing narratives. The thesis takes as its focus the arrival of *HMB Endeavour*, commanded by James Cook, at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, Aotearoa New Zealand in October 1769. A foundation for its place-based analysis is the idea of the contact zone, as used by Mary Louise Pratt in relation to encounters on the colonial frontier and by James Clifford in the context of museum-based encounters. I build on this foundation by applying Diana Taylor's concept of scenarios to multiple historical and contemporary commemorations to better understand how cross-cultural encounters contribute to the making of places.

The relationship of the scenario of encounter to questions of place-making and memory provides the focus of the first part of the thesis. The core of the thesis comprises four case studies. Chapter 2 considers the first histories of the encounters at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, written by the voyagers themselves, establishing their fragility, entanglement in pre-existing conventions, and their performative qualities. Three further case studies of commemorations follow, focussing on different places and forms. Chapter 3 examines commemorative events in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa Poverty Bay, Aotearoa New Zealand between 1905 and 2019, marking a series of anniversaries of the 1769 landings there. Chapter 4 analyses exhibitions marking the 250th anniversary of the *Endeavour's* departure from England held in London in 2018 at key institutional sites: the British Library, the Royal Academy, and the National Maritime Museum. Finally, Chapter 5 studies a feature-length

documentary film *Tupaia's Endeavour* (2020), exploring the power of the medium to challenge the scenario of encounter. I take a geographical approach that focuses on commemorative place-making. I conclude that when the scenario itself is a focus there is greater potential for positive change.

Contents

Figures

Chapter 1

Chapter 2

Chapter 3

Chapter 4

Chapter 1. Cross-cultural encounters in contact zones: scenario, archive, and repertoire

> How strange … that one's gestures remain the same, even as the body changes, weathers, and gives itself over to age – as though the gestures were the real vessel, the vase to the body's flower.
>
> Eleanor Catton, *The Luminaries*, 2013

1.1. Introduction

How we activate history in creating places deeply affects the way we live. For some of us, the effects are uplifting, for others they are devastating; in some places the effects enrich us, in others they impoverish. How we use history matters to all of us, always, and everywhere, whether we are aware of it or not. The idea of first contact between cultures in Indigenous-colonial contexts has been a foundation for many activations of history, frequently assuming mythical status. Such a moment has been sought and represented within different framings and narratives for centuries. It has served some seekers as a definitive beginning, of a place, or of a nation, particularly in settler colonies such as Aotearoa New Zealand. It has served others as an end, a point in human evolution or progress, where the 'noble savage,' imagined untouched by time and civilisation until that point, was supposed to disappear.

Aotearoa New Zealand was first settled by ocean voyagers who arrived at Te Ika-a-Māui (North Island) from the thirteenth century onwards. Their place of departure is likely to have been Rangiātea, an island that is today part of French Polynesia. There is a saying: E kore au e ngaro, he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea – I will never be lost for I am the seed that has been scattered from Rangiātea. The migrations to Aotearoa New Zealand were the last

of many waves that took place over thousands of years, during which ocean voyagers discovered and settled islands spanning the length and breadth of Te Moananui-a-Kiwa, the Pacific Ocean. According to Western history, descendants of the first settlers in Aotearoa New Zealand met the Europeans of Abel Tasman's voyage in December 1642 in a violent encounter. This was followed almost 127 years later by James Cook's violent landfall in *HMB Endeavour* at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, Te Ika-a-Māui, the place he named Poverty Bay. It is this second cross-cultural 'first contact' that has long been heralded by the state of Aotearoa New Zealand as its foundational moment.

This thesis focuses on the cross-cultural encounters that took place at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, Aotearoa New Zealand, between 8 and 11 October 1769, and its subsequent commemorations in a variety of sites and contexts. It was written in a period when a range of commemorative events took place in different countries to mark the *Endeavour* voyage, 250 years after it left England and arrived in Te Moananui. In 2018, several major cultural institutions in London held exhibitions and related events to commemorate the departure of the *Endeavour*.[1] In 2019, a further range of commemorations of the voyage's arrival took place in Aotearoa New Zealand.[2] Also in 2019, a feature documentary film called *Tupaia's Endeavour* directed by Lala Rolls, was screened as part of the commemorative events programmes in both London and Aotearoa New Zealand, having been filmed in Tahiti, Aotearoa New Zealand, and the UK.[3] The core of the thesis comprises four case studies, the first of which examines the making of history on the voyage that set off from England in

[1] Elsewhere in Britain, there was also a *Cook 250 Festival* at Whitby and an exhibition *Whitby in the Time of Cook* at the Captain Cook Memorial Museum there. The BBC screened a three-part series called *Oceans Apart: Art and the Pacific with James Fox*, and the Post Office issued a set of commemorative stamps.
[2] Exhibitions also took place in Tahiti in the spring of 2019, and exhibitions and commemorations were also created in Australia in 2020.
[3] The final cut of *Tupaia's Endeavour* was premiered at the New Zealand International Film Festival on 25 July 2020 in Te Whanganui-a-Tara (Wellington) and online, with further screenings in the following days including Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland).

1768, and the next three focussing on its commemoration in various forms. Through the four case studies, the thesis examines relationships between history and place. In this chapter, I introduce the foundations of my argument and its context and provide an outline of the historical events of the *Endeavour* voyage at the heart of my enquiry, before introducing relevant literatures and the approaches, methods, and sources I have used in my research.

My core argument is that historic and contemporary cross-cultural encounters are entangled through place: when we create narratives about historic cross-cultural encounters, we also engage in contemporary cross-cultural encounters, and these past and present events are inextricably linked. I base my argument firstly on the spatial concept of the contact zone, as developed and applied by Mary Louise Pratt on the colonial frontier, and by James Clifford in museum environments (Pratt 1992; Clifford 1997). Building on these developments, I argue that applying a performance studies approach to commemorations of historical events helps us understand how they work as history- and place-making processes. Of central importance to the thesis is Diana Taylor's use of the concepts of scenario, archive, and repertoire, which I use to expand my analysis beyond text and narrative (Taylor 2003). In doing so, I develop the concept of the scenario of encounter and show how such scenarios function in historic events, the making of their histories, and in their subsequent commemorations.

As context for my argument, this chapter introduces three groups of ideas under the broad headings of place, encounter, and performance. I introduce them with reference to the case study structure of the thesis and the relevance to my argument. The commemoration case studies presented in Chapters 4 and 5 draw on further literatures of direct relevance to their specific themes, concerned with museum studies and documentary

film respectively. My articulation of the concept of 'place' in this chapter draws on propositions that emphasise open-ended and dynamic definitions. I build on these definitions by using a performance studies approach to examine means by which such dynamics are activated in relationships between history and place around and through commemorative events. 'Encounter' is a rich but problematic term that has been widely used in cultural geography, anthropology, and beyond. While acknowledging the term's breadth, problems, and the complexity of its use, I set out the foundations for my application of it here. I add to work on encounter by developing the concept of the scenario of encounter, to which I attribute three elements – contact, dissonance, and resolution. 'Performance' has been used very widely as a term of analysis in many different disciplines. I acknowledge that and clarify my use of the term. I build on the use of performance studies approaches to understand social behaviour in relation to history and commemoration 'as performance' more than the study of 'theatrical performances,' although I also look at some examples of these in Chapter 4. The next section introduces the *Endeavour* voyage. This is followed in Sections 1.3-1.5 by the introductions to relevant literatures on place, encounter, and performance. My approach to the research, and the methods and sources I have used follows in Section 1.6. With those foundations in place, I conclude the chapter in Section 1.7 with an overview of the thesis structure.

1.2. Voyaging with the *Endeavour*

The brief history of the *Endeavour* voyage that follows is a starting point. Here I provide an outline of events which are the subject of critical attention in the chapters which follow. There are several relevant and interrelated eighteenth-century Western contexts to the voyage. European imperial expansion had been underway for centuries, with conflict

between emerging nation states including Spain, France, and Britain spilling out into oceans and continents around the world, not least the Atlantic and the Americas. Enlightenment dynamics of scientific and technological discovery were encouraging global geographical exploration with an ideal of the possibility of complete knowledge. Religious and philosophical ideas were widely and deeply influential amongst European voyagers. The *Endeavour's* voyage emerged from turbulent crosscurrents of these diverse contexts.

In 1768, the Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge (the Royal Society) was planning contributions to a global series of observations of the 1769 Transit of Venus across the face of the sun, aiming to calculate the size of the solar system. During a voyage by the *Dolphin* and *Swallow* from 1766 to 1768, Captain Samuel Wallis had visited Tahiti, with deadly consequences for the Tahitians.[4] When he returned to London, one of the voyage's many legacies was that the Royal Society chose Tahiti as a location for Transit of Venus observations. The Society also wished to search the South Pacific for a yet unknown southern continent, encouraged by Scottish geographer Alexander Dalrymple FRS and Scottish author John Callander among others (Gascoigne 2014: 130). Dalrymple had hoped to lead the expedition, but the Society's proposal relied on support from and provision of a ship by the Admiralty, which was conditional on it being captained by a Naval officer. The man chosen was James Cook, who had gained a reputation for his skills and experience in surveys and chart making in North America. He was promoted to Lieutenant for the role. The Society's team of naturalists, artists, clerks, and their servants was funded and directed by wealthy, young naturalist Joseph Banks, a Fellow of the Royal Society since 1766. The Admiralty supplied Cook with two sets of instructions: the first to sail to Tahiti and

[4] The ships became separated around the Strait of Magellan and, although the *Swallow* also voyaged into the Pacific, visiting Pitcairn Island amongst other places, only the *Dolphin* visited Tahiti.

conduct the observations for the Transit of Venus; the second, referred to as the secret instructions, to be opened once the Transit observations were completed, to search for the postulated Southern Continent, *Terra Australis Incognita*.[5] In addition to these instructions, James Douglas, Earl of Morton, President of the Royal Society, which jointly sponsored the voyage with the Admiralty, provided Cook with a set of 'Hints'.[6] The Earl of Morton's *Hints* included clear statements about the status of Indigenous peoples as owners of their lands, and about how the expedition should deal with those Indigenous peoples that it encountered.

A vessel called the *Earl of Pembroke*, launched in 1764 as a collier,[7] was bought by the Admiralty for the expedition and renamed *HMB Endeavour*.[8] The ship left Plymouth on 26 August 1768, [9] calling at Madeira, Rio de Janeiro, and Tierra del Fuego, before reaching the Pacific, where it passed through the Tuamotu Islands before anchoring in Matavai Bay, Tahiti on 13 April 1769. Having completed the observations of the Transit of Venus, Cook set out to explore nearby islands and then to start his search for the unknown southern continent. When they left Matavai Bay on 13 July 1769, two Tahitians were aboard: high priest and star navigator Tupaia, and his acolyte or apprentice Taiato. [10] Their presence had a significant impact on the voyage during their visits to other islands near Tahiti and in

[5] Beaglehole, J., (1955). *The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery: The Voyage of the Endeavour, 1768-1771*. London: Boydell Press: cclxxxii. An article was published before the *Endeavour*'s departure about their likely content in the *London Gazette* Friday 19 August 1768. A transcript is available online at: http://www.oocities.org/thetropics/7557/gazette.html

[6] Beaglehole 1955: 514.

[7] Cook's maritime career started on colliers like this, and he would have been very familiar with the advantages of its construction.

[8] *His Majesty's Bark Endeavour.* There was already an *HMS Endeavour* in naval service at the time.

[9] Dates in the accounts follow three different conventions, which persisted in the Royal Navy until 1805: civil time, nautical (or ship's) time, and astronomical time. Civil time runs from midnight to midnight; ship's time runs from noon on the day before the civil time day to noon on the civil time day; astronomical time runs from noon on the civil time day to noon on the following day. Only Green, the astronomer used astronomical time in his journal. Throughout the thesis I will refer to dates based on the single convention of civil time.

[10] There are varied spellings of his name, often Tupaea in Aotearoa New Zealand. Similarly, there are different spellings of Taiato's name, including Taiata.

Aotearoa New Zealand. A southern continent not having been sighted after several weeks, the *Endeavour* headed west.

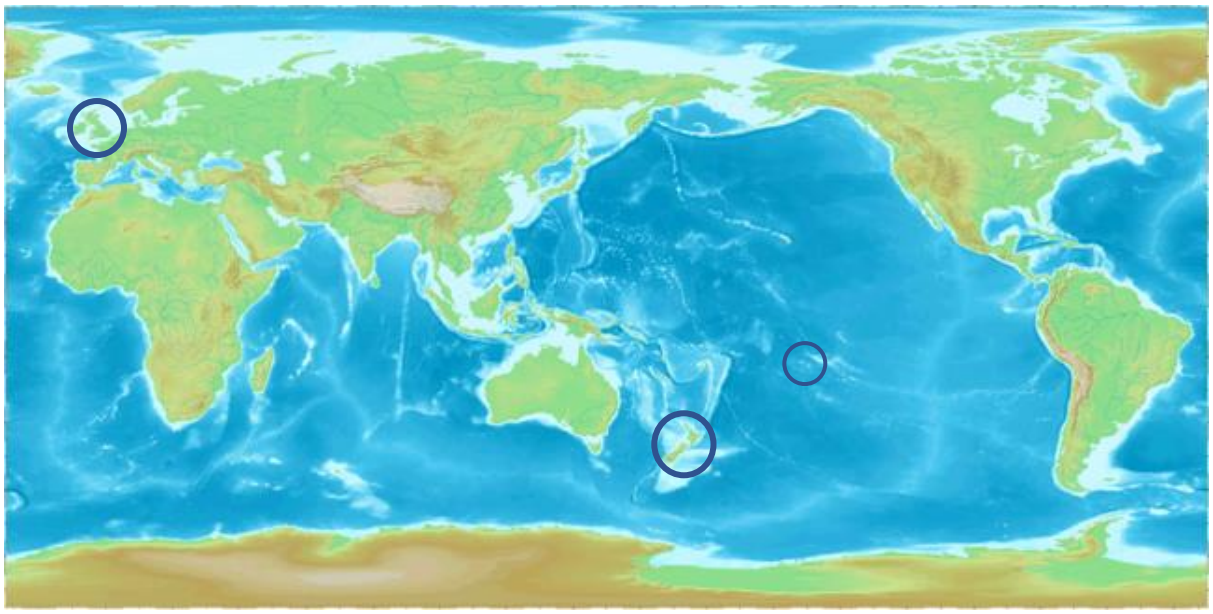

Figure 1.1. World map showing Britain, Tahiti, and Aotearoa New Zealand.

Figure 1.2. Map of the location of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa Poverty Bay, Aotearoa New Zealand.

One of the ship's boys, Nicholas Young, sighted land from the mast head on 6 October 1769, and as the ship approached a wide bay over the following 48 hours, it became clear that the land was inhabited. The Endeavours[11] made their first landing on Sunday 8 October at around 4pm. The bare bones of the familiar Western narrative of the next few days is as follows. Cook went ashore on the northeast side of a river[12] in two of the ship's boats, the pinnace and yawl, with a party of men and accompanied by gentlemen Joseph Banks, Daniel Solander, and William Monkhouse, but notably without Tupaia. Seeing a group of Māori[13] on the other side of the river, Cook ordered the yawl to carry some of the party across to the southwestern side, leaving four boys to guard it, with the pinnace lying-to at the river mouth. By the time he had crossed, the Māori he had seen had left, and the party "went as far as their huts which lay about 2 or 3 hundred yards from the water side".[14] Meanwhile, four[15] Māori came out of the woods on the northeastern side of the river and advanced with weapons towards the yawl. Under the authority of the Coxswain in the pinnace two warning shots were fired over the heads of the advancing men. A third shot killed one of them, now known to be Te Maro of the hapū (sub-tribe) Ngāti Rakai of the iwi (tribe) Ngāti Oneone.

[11] Following historical convention, I use the term 'The Endeavours' throughout the thesis to refer to all those on board the vessel including Royal Navy crew and marines, servants, the Royal Society party, and Polynesians Tupaia and Taiato.
[12] The Tūranga River.
[13] Use of the word Māori to describe the inhabitants was unknown to the Endeavours, nor used at the time by Māori to describe themselves until years later; possibly 1801, according to Vincent O'Malley in his 2013 *The Meeting Place* (p. 12). However, it seems to me to be the most appropriate term here, certainly better than the Endeavours' use of 'natives', 'inhabitants', or 'Indians'. I have chosen to use the term Māori in this thesis as I found it in common use by those Māori I interviewed to refer to themselves and their people. Tāngata Whenua (people of the land) is also a widely-used term; see Tuhiwai Smith (2012) for example.
[14] Cook 9 October 1769. All quotations from Cook and Banks in the thesis are taken from *South Seas: Voyaging and Cross-Cultural Encounters in the Pacific (1760-1800)*, National Library of Australia, Canberra. https://southseas.nla.gov.au/index_voyaging.html
[15] Parkinson, S., (1773). (Edited by Stanfield Parkinson.) *A Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas, in His Majesty's Ship The Endeavour: …* London: Stanfield Parkinson. Available online at: http://southseas.nla.gov.au/journals/parkinson/contents.html; Bootie (TNA ADM 51/4546/134-5) and Forwood (TNA ADM 51/4546/133) say three.

Cook and those with him returned to the river on hearing the shots, crossed over, examined Te Maro's body, and then returned to the ship around 6 pm.

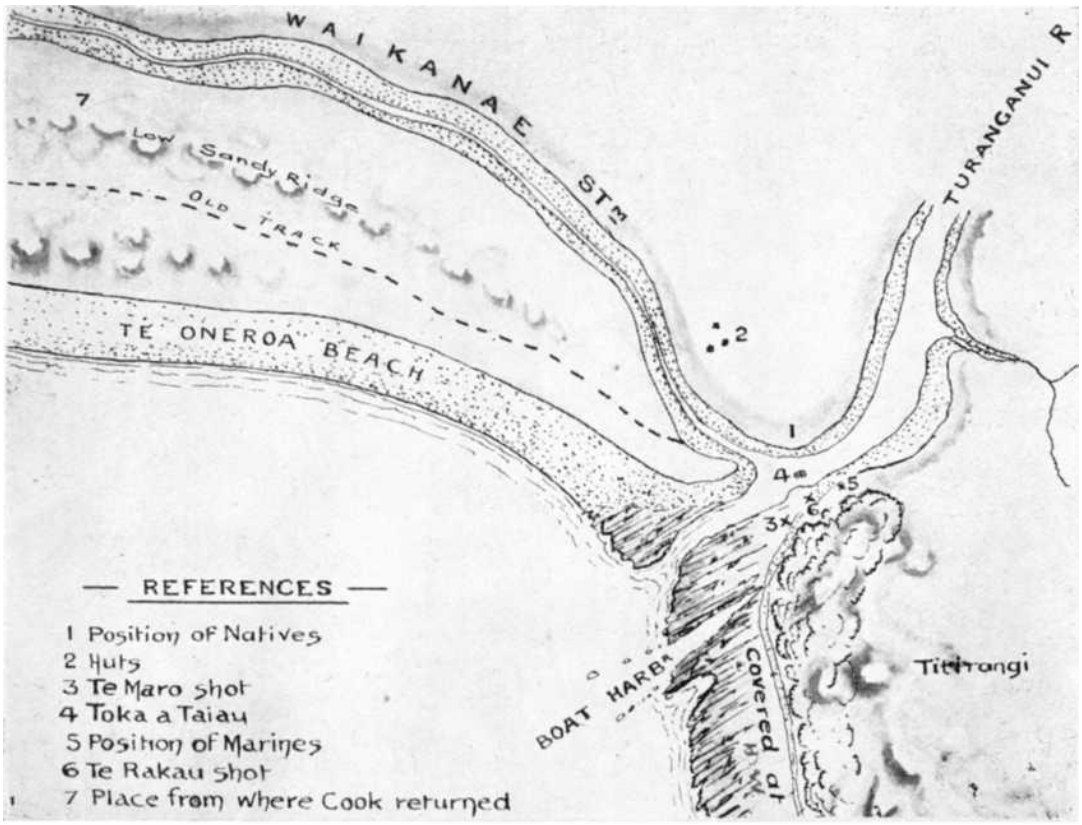

Figure 1.3. Map of incidents during Captain Cook's visit to Poverty Bay, 1769. W. L. Williams, *Transactions of the N.Z. Institute*, Vol. XXI. Printed in MacKay 1950 Historic Poverty Bay.

At around 8 am the next day, Monday 9 October 1769, a large party of Māori was seen on the southwestern side of the river. At first only Cook, Banks and Solander landed on the northeastern side, and advanced to the river's edge, calling out Tahitian words. The Māori "answered us by flourishing their weapons over their heads and danceing as we supposed a war dance". [16] The Endeavours retreated from the riverbank until the marines had landed and had been "drawn up about two hundred yards behind us".[17] Then they returned to the riverside, this time with Tupaia, who was able to communicate with the Māori, there being

[16] Cook 9 October 1769.
[17] Ibid.

great similarity between his language and theirs. A chaotic encounter developed during which another Māori leader, Te Rakau of the iwi Rongowhakaata, was shot and killed and other Māori injured. Cook withdrew to his boats and, since this river was salt, decided to row around the bay looking for fresh water. During this fruitless search, they spotted two canoes coming into the bay. Cook "rowed to one of them in order to seize upon the people".[18] Despite Tupaia calling out to them that "we would not hurt them,"[19] the Māori resisted capture by throwing stones, paddles, and fish, or tried to evade capture by jumping into the sea. Cook again ordered them to be fired upon, noting that "two or three were kill'd, and one wounded".[20] Three who jumped overboard were pulled out and taken aboard the *Endeavour*. These three young men, Haurangi, Hikirangi and Marukawiti, (all Rongowhakaata)[21] stayed on board overnight during which time they were given food, clothing, and other gifts. They went ashore with a party from the *Endeavour* the next day, before being put ashore again for the last time that evening. On Tuesday 11 October, Cook ordered the *Endeavour* to leave the bay, naming it Poverty Bay. As they left, there was a final meeting between the Endeavours and Māori in this initial episode of encounter, at sea off Wharongorongo, when hoe (paddles) were traded.[22] The first peaceful landings took place shortly afterwards at Ūawa, Cook's Cove, Tolaga Bay, some 30 miles north of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa. The *Endeavour* spent the following six months charting the coastline of Aotearoa New Zealand, and 'taking possession' of the islands, before sailing west to chart

[18] Cook 10 October 1769.
[19] Ibid.
[20] *Ibid.*
[21] The spellings and iwi affiliation are taken from the Rongowhakaata account at: https://www.tupapa.nz/stories/encounters-with-cook/young-fisherman-on-the-endeavour/boys-taken-to-endeavour. [accessed 14 August 2020]. "Te Haurangi, Ikirangi and Marukauiti, according to Williams (Williams 1888: 393); or Hauraki and Hikurangi, according to Rongo Halbert (who cites Sir Robert Hall, pers. Comm. 1989); Ikirangi and Marukawiti in Te Pipiwharauroa 104, 1906: 6," Salmond, A., (1991). *Two Worlds: First Meetings Between Maori and Europeans, 1642-1772.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press: 441.
[22] Two of these hoe featured in the Royal Academy of Arts' *Oceania* exhibition, covered in Chapter 4.

and ‘take possession’ of the east coast of Australia, almost sinking after striking the Great Barrier Reef. The *Endeavour* returned to England via Batavia, now Jakarta in Indonesia, where many people including Tupaia and Taiato became fatally ill, and then via the Cape of Good Hope, arriving back in England in July 1771.

Such narratives form our histories. The preceding bare-bones narrative of *HMB Endeavour’s* voyage is shorter than most others. To say that there are absences from that narrative is an understatement. That of course is also true of any historical narrative, however long, no matter how much detailed scholarship has been involved, including Anne Salmond’s meticulous account of these events in *Two Worlds* (1991). To help his students understand the limits of historical narrative and the vital importance of imagination to the historian, Greg Dening “taught them the past by first requiring them to describe their present. […] They soon discovered how difficult it is to describe the present. […] The more they claimed the novelty of their experience, the more they had to plumb the plagiarisms of their thinking” (Dening 1998: 146). I explore in the next chapter the difficulties that the Endeavours encountered in describing their experiences. My point in the present context is rather that “the past has its own silences that will never be voiced” (*ibid.*: 158). It is for this reason at least that “history in places, especially in places of cross-cultural encounters, will take as much imagination as science to see” (*ibid.*: 159). I also agree with Dening when he wrote: “In writing history, we are really rewriting somebody else’s histories” (*ibid.*: 171). History, in this approach, is a process that takes place in the present; it is not an objective world apart that we can examine independently of the dynamics of time, the relationships of place, and the identities that we inhabit. History is not separate from our present experience, and I show in Chapter 2 ways in which such a distinction does not stand up to scrutiny.

Similar complexities arise in defining place, in making distinctions between here and there. The experiences of events and their translation into narrative are profoundly affected by where they take place. At the same time, the places themselves are affected by the events and experiences of them. Furthermore, how one conceptualises place entrains other ways of thinking that profoundly affect places and what happens at them, expressed by Kenneth Foote as follows, in terms appropriate to the events at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa:

> As a geographer I could not help but notice that the sites themselves seemed to play an active role in their own interpretation. What I mean is that the evidence of violence left behind often pressures people, almost involuntarily, to begin debate over meaning. The sites stained by the blood of violence and covered by the ashes of tragedy, force people to face squarely the meaning of an event (Foote 1997: 5-6).

1.3. Approaches to Place

Place is one of those terms that is both simple and complex at the same time. Like 'thing,' or 'life,' it has a common-sense meaning that somehow speaks for itself. However, even a little reflection reveals how difficult terms like 'place' are to define. In human geography, place has been used to mean a point or area of the earth's surface, perhaps the most 'common-sense' meaning associated with the term. It has also been used in the sense of a setting for everyday activities, rather like a stage for human life. There is also the use in 'sense of place' conveying the idea of our experience of place (Agnew 1987). There are many other ways of thinking about place too. The approach to place underlying this thesis emerges ultimately from geography's phenomenological turn. For advocates of this approach, "it is because place is so primal to human existence that it becomes such a powerful political force in its socially constructed forms" (Cresswell 2015: 46). The philosophical arguments of geographers such as Robert Sack and Edward Relph, and philosophers such as Jeff Malpas

suggest that place cannot be reduced to the natural, the cultural, or the social, but is "a phenomenon that brings these worlds together and, indeed, in part produced them" (Agnew 2011: 17). Place and conceptions of place underly all human experience. Clearly there are differences between places, between conceptions of place, and between the human experiences that both create and are created by them. In this thesis, two points are of particular importance. The first is the significance of Indigenous approaches to place and of the growing bodies of work that study and practice them. The second is the importance and implications of the distinction between phenomenological and Cartesian approaches to place. In both cases, the distinctions emerge from profound differences in ways of knowing. While I deal with these two points separately, it is worth noting first that researchers in several disciplines including geography "are using phenomenology as a bridge between Indigenous and Western philosophies of place" (Johnson 2012: 834). The challenges involved in such bridging are not insignificant, as Adam J. Barker and Jenny Pickerill (2019) have recently explored.

Clear distinctions between the Cartesian, geometrical approach to space and Indigenous approaches to place are evident in both historical and contemporary events. They are starkly revealed in historical cross-cultural encounters, such as those provoked by the *Endeavour* in 1769 and captured in the complex hybridity of Tupaia's chart that features in Chapter 5.[23] Consider also Tim Cresswell's example from Captain Vancouver's 1792 *HMS Discovery* journal in which Cresswell notes that "two world views were in collision; and the poverty of white accounts of these canoe journeys reflect the colonists' blindness to the

[23] Tupaia's Chart reflects two different conceptions of place and navigation, what Lala Rolls calls 'an uncomfortable blend' (*Tupaia's Endeavour* 2020). For detailed studies of Tupaia's chart, see Di Piazza and Pearthree 2007; Eckstein and Schwartz 2019.

native sea. They didn't get it – couldn't grasp the fact that for Indians the water was a place" (Cresswell 2004: 9).

Such distinctions are also clear in the contemporary world. In Oceania, as elsewhere, contrasts between Western and Indigenous conceptions of space have been examined over many decades, including in seminal works such as Alfred Wendt's 1976 *Towards a New Oceania*, Epeli Hau'ofa's 1994 *Our Sea of Islands*, Margaret Jolly's 2007 essay on 'Imagining Oceania', and more recently Jay T. Johnson's 2012 paper on Place-based learning and knowing. What these writers share is a recognition of the situated nature of knowledge of place for and amongst Indigenous peoples, especially those of Oceania – Tāngata Moana. Clashes and transformations take place when these Indigenous knowledges are brought into contact with Western ones. Western place knowledge tends to dominate and suppress situated, embodied Indigenous place knowledge through charts, 'texts' which influence public narratives about what place is and what it can be. These differences matter according to Jolly because, "as Epeli Hau'ofa has explained, Islanders have, in part, come to see themselves through the Outlanders' lenses" (2007: 509).

Another distinction is that Indigenous approaches to place are relational, emerging from relationships to land and to others, to whenua and whakapapa. For example, Johnson considers place as a way of understanding, knowing, and learning about the world, highlighting the way that "events, remembered attached to a place, forever alter the memory of that place" (2012: 831). Keith Basso argues that place serves as a primary repository for history in societies without writing (Basso 1996), and David A. Gruenewald explains that each of us is moulded in part by "our embodied experience of places" (Gruenewald 2008: 147). This contrasts with characterisations of Western conceptions of place based on a separation of culture and nature, of people from place, leading to a placelessness which is a foundation

"of our modern Western condition" (Johnson 2012: 830). Adam J. Barker and Jenny Pickerill have highlighted the role of place as an active agent in knowledge making, and that through

> focusing on active doings in place, and acknowledging the temporalities of Indigenous ontologies, geographers are better able to support political and everyday struggles, situate our work in relation to colonialism, recognise and value everyday practices of resurgence, and spend time building relationships (2019: 1).

There are also significant distinctions between phenomenological and Cartesian approaches to place. According to Cresswell (2015), the phenomenological approach taken by humanistic geographers and philosophers is less interested in place as a fixed geographical location than "'place' as an idea, concept, and way of being in the world" (Cresswell 2015: 35). One of the implications of this approach is that places are seen not as distinct bounded areas of space, but as entanglements of human experience of place, what Doreen Massey has called the "throwntogetherness" of place (Massey, 2005: 140). This open-ended and dynamic conception of place is one of the foundations of the thesis. It has frequently been contrasted with what has been called the geometric or Cartesian conception of space, defined by single grids such as latitude and longitude (Agnew 2011). The word 'place' has been associated with the open-ended and dynamic approach, and 'space' with the geometric approach. The geometric conception is one of the great Enlightenment projects, and it was embedded in all the fundamental aspects of the *Endeavour* voyage: in the observation of the Transit of Venus, in the calculation of latitude and longitude, in the drive to find and chart uncharted land, in the extraction and classification of flora and fauna, and in the sense of sailing <u>on</u> the ocean, rather than <u>in</u> or <u>through</u> it.

Paul Carter explains the significance of the Enlightenment philosophy of knowledge for conceptions of place by referring to the way Banks and Solander worked on the

Endeavour voyage. "Banks's general outlook … was that the *spatiality* of experience could be ignored … his knowledge is … detached from its historical and geographical surroundings" (Carter 1987: 21-22, Carter's emphasis). One of the most dominant narratives about Cartesian space and place evolving from such approaches, that continues into the present, is that technology enables Western conceptions of space to overcome or dominate place. Whether the technology be latitude and longitude, railways and air travel, or the Internet and mobile phone, this narrative argues that mobility and communication facilitate the spatial globalisation of the world, overwhelming understandings of open-ended, experienced, or local place. Local, experienced place also becomes associated with underdevelopment and the past, Cartesian space with progress and the future. The Cartesian system represents the idea of complete knowledge in one system, fixed and definitive. While this has been a powerful and enduring narrative, it has faced profound criticism, not least from geographers. Writers such as Massey and Cresswell have advanced approaches to place that recognise a multiplicity of co-existing narratives and the openness of those narratives to alternative futures.

Non-representational approaches in geography have carried forward these arguments. For example, Nigel Thrift describes places as "open spaces" made through practice, taking shape "only in their passing" (Thrift 1999: 310). Places "are specific time-space configurations made up of the intersection of many encounters between "actants" (people and things) that reflect "*practical means of going on rather than something concerned with enabling us to see, contemplatively, the supposedly true nature of what something is*" (1999: 304, Thrift's emphasis). From this perspective the placement and displacement of bodies and objects is more important than the chronology of events and actions. So, this theoretical viewpoint is as much epistemological (concerned with how we

know) as ontological (concerned with what exists). We always look at 'the world' from somewhere, from a place… which serves "to reiterate that knowledge is always and everywhere geographically contextual and reflexive" (Thrift 1999: 21).

Such differences in ways of thinking about place matter greatly because they often have implications for how we think about people. Doreen Massey puts it like this: "the way we imagine space has effects". It is less an image of the world as it is, than "an image in which the world is being made" (Massey 2005: 5). In 1769, the world was being made in a single Cartesian system through projects to chart the world and measure the solar system. Massey, however, invites us to reject single narratives and instead offers three propositions: firstly, that place[24] is the product of interrelations and interactions from global to tiny scales; secondly, that place is the realm of multiple possibilities, of coexisting difference; and thirdly, that place is always in the process of being constructed. For Massey, ideas about space and place constrain what politics are possible. Politics can only make a difference if the future is open. For Massey both time and place are open, both history and place are sites of potential political change. Cresswell offers the example that, if places are seen as fixed, then people who move are thought of as a threat to it, affecting how we see and treat the homeless, travellers, or refugees. These distinctions between ways of thinking about place are deeply political and impact on peoples' lives and futures daily.

What is clear in both the Indigenous and phenomenological conceptions of place described above is that the experience of place is active in the ongoing creation of place. Place is intrinsically embodied and performed. Michael Mel articulates the way dualisms in conceptions about place have also been applied to bodies: "For all intents and purposes, the

[24] I have substituted 'place' here where Massey uses 'space' to avoid confusion in the distinction I am making between Cartesian space and situated place.

mind and the faculty of Reason are made the centre, while the body is made the Other, an erstwhile supplement that is consigned to Nature, and controlled by Reason." For Mel, however, the body is not distinct from knowledge. "I do not see myself as an enclosed and complete vessel, outside of and beyond connection to place, family and land" (Mel 2018: 72-3). For Mel, a body, no less than a place, becomes a site of resistance in the face of imposed colonial narratives founded on such distinctions.

By taking such an approach, we can see how place making manifests across a range of scales from the body and its immediate human habitat such as a room, to grand buildings, landscapes, and social places such as nations. Fixing a poster to a wall is place making (Pratt 1999), architecture makes places (Hornstein 2011; Norberg-Schulz 2000; Dovey 1999), and the concept of nation makes places as places make nations (Taylor 1999; Anderson 2016). Place is also a site of inscription of experience, supporting memory and identity, and constantly in the process of becoming, as human experiences find material expression.

As noted above, there is work that attempts to bridge Western and Indigenous approaches to place and their underlying knowledge systems. A further, highly relevant body of work argues that distinctions between Western and Indigenous knowledge systems "falsely indicate entirely separable spaces within which to understand reality" (Watson and Huntington 2008: 257). For Watson and Huntington, such distinctions emerge from and risk reinforcing the false assertion of two separate ways of knowing – Western value-free facts and Indigenous subjective values. Rather, Western and Indigenous knowledge systems operate in the same physical and epistemic places, where the power relationships performed through them create new assemblages and events.

Drawing on the range of approaches to place introduced above, the key points for my argument are as follows. Place is experienced and places are made through experiences.

Places are unbounded entanglements of diverse and multiple experiences, approaches to place, and underlying knowledge systems. Some experiences are inscribed in places in diverse forms including images, texts, monuments, architecture, and landscapes. Such inscriptions, whilst in many ways as constructed as social categories like race, nonetheless have agency. Places are contested through both experiences and inscriptions, reflecting power relationships. Places are never finished, they are always becoming, only existing as they are practised or performed. Furthermore, because they are unfinished, there is always the possibility of change, and this condition is necessary for any meaningful politics.

1.4. Situated Encounter

The language of encounter is ubiquitous in many of the more recent commemorations of the *Endeavour* voyage, especially in the anniversary years of 2018 and 2019. It is highly visible in the conception, planning, and performance of events in Aotearoa New Zealand. The national framework for the commemorations, which I examine in Chapter 3, is called Tuia – Encounters 250.[25] Some have objected to the use of the term 'encounter' as being euphemistic.[26] For some, the word 'collision' has been preferred.[27] It is also a foundational term in one of the new galleries opened in 2018 at the National Maritime Museum – *Pacific Encounters*, which is examined in Chapter 4.

[25] Tuia refers to sewing, threading, lashing, or weaving, and was the fundamental metaphor in the branding of the commemorations. "Tuia te muka tangata ki uta. Weaving people together for a shared future." This metaphor has survived the 250th anniversary, and Tuia continues to be used by Manatū Taonga Ministry of Culture and Heritage, without the '250' or the 'encounters' - see https://mch.govt.nz/tuia250.
[26] See for example Tina Ngata 2019 *Kia Mau Resisting Colonial Fictions*. Wellington: Rebel Press.
[27] The iwi Rongowhakaata has chosen 'collision' as a definitive term in its public discourse around the anniversary. See for example their dedicated facebook page available at: https://www.facebook.com/therongowhakaatacollision/, [accessed 14 October 2019].

The word encounter has been widely used in anthropology and history (Dening 2006; Douglas 2014; Gascoigne 2014; Hallam and Street 2000; Salmond 2012). Other terms used in writing about encounters include 'exchanges' (Smith 2009; Salmond 2005), 'meeting place' (O'Malley 2013), 'middle ground' (White 2006), or 'first contact' (Bell *et al.* 2013); and sometimes more than one of these (Balme 2006). Much of this literature reflects complex, open-ended, and dynamic conceptions of what happens when people from different cultures meet. Bronwen Douglas, for example, is very clear that encounter "is a messy, embodied episode in a specific time and place, involving multifaceted interactions of gendered, classed, Indigenous and foreign persons" (2014: 19). Importantly for my reading of the events of 1769 at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, Douglas also asserts that "Europeans did not inevitably control or dominate encounters and exchanges with Oceanian people" (2014: 19). White highlights the changing conditions of encounter as a process, noting that where and for as long as there is a balance of power a productive 'middle ground' can emerge (White 2006: 10).

Helen F. Wilson's 2017 review essay on geographies of encounter is a valuable starting point in understanding how geographers have used the concept of encounters. While there is a wide range of senses of encounter within the geographical literature, one thing Wilson insists is that it is not simply "a general term for meeting". Rather, she sees it as "a conceptually charged construct [and] a specific genre of contact … fundamentally about difference". She identifies three bodies of literature where the term is especially evident: (post-)colonial writing, work on urban diversity, and animal geographies. One of Wilson's observations about this literature is that deploying encounter as an analytical device "(re)affirmed binary logics but concealed the messy and 'fine negotiations, intersections and exchanges'" (2017b: 453). One of the areas in which ongoing legacies of the historical period

of colonisation and imperialism can be found, along with similar applications of 'encounter,' is tourism. The second body of literature Wilson identifies is concerned with social, mainly urban, difference, including recent conceptions of superdiversity. Massey's work in developing new approaches to place and space underpins much of the new work in this field. A significant part of this 'urban' literature considers the dynamics of designed encounters, that, as Valentine puts it "might forge civic culture out of difference" (Valentine 2008: 323). Reinforcing her conclusion that encounter is fundamentally about difference, Wilson notes that "the concept of encounter has been most frequently used to examine contact where a lack of commonality is assumed or where some form of existing conflict, prejudice or unease is present" (2017: 454). "Scholars working in this area," she points out, "have also paid considerable attention to the spaces of encounter, to consider how encounters shape space but are also shaped by it" (2017: 454).

Across the three geographical fields identified by Wilson as having engaged with encounter, a common idea is how social difference emerges from encounter rather than being a fixed pre-existing condition. This reflects the arguments of Massey and Cresswell, noted above, about differences between places emerging from experiences of mobility and activation rather than fixed, pre-existing, essentialist conditions. As Wilson puts it: "Encounters *make* difference" (2017: 455, Wilson's emphasis). It is important, however, to recognise the agency of categories of difference, whether in application to the social or spatial. While such categories are contingent and flexible, they perform work in a dynamic relationship. Taxonomies of race are both formed by and mediate encounters. Senses and materialities of place (such as memories and memorials) are both formed by and mediate encounters. Beyond the mutuality of such definitions, there is what Wilson calls "a ubiquitous reference to 'possibility' and 'potential' [that] demonstrates an understanding

that actions are brought forth from encounters and, as such, that we can never predict what affects minds and bodies might be capable of ahead of any given encounter" (Wilson 2017: 455).

'Organised encounter' has been a focus of encounter studies in a context of policy debates on diversity and integration (Wilson 2012; 2017; Christiansen *et al.* 2017). The idea of paradox appears in such studies, as Christiansen *et al.* explain: "on the one hand, cultural encounters are seen as the root cause of various global and/or local problems, but on the other hand organising a cultural encounter is also seen as a (potential) solution to these problems" (2017: 599). Wilson adds that "the promise and hope of organised encounter stands in tension with the recognition that encounters are inherently unpredictable – that they are about rupture and surprise" (2017: 606). Both articles appeared in a special issue of the *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, "inspired by Pratt's conceptualisation of the contact zone" (Christiansen *et al.* 2017: 599). Wilson also identifies Pratt's "influential description of the 'contact zone' [as] perhaps the best articulated" example of the potential for different forms of transformation (Wilson, 2017b: 456).

Mary Louise Pratt developed her conception of a 'contact zone' in her influential 1992 monograph *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. Drawing the term 'contact' from the field of linguistics, where it has been applied to creative, hybrid 'contact languages,' she defined the contact zone as "the space of colonial encounters, the space in which people geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, racial inequality, and intractable conflict" (Pratt 1992: 6). She is talking here about both geographical space and social space, where the geographical site is also a spatial metaphor for social relations. In her use of the contact zone, Pratt aims:

> to foreground the interactive, improvisational dimensions of colonial encounters so easily ignored or suppressed by diffusionist accounts of conquest and domination. A 'contact' perspective emphasises how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other. It treats the relations among colonizers and colonized … not in terms of separateness or apartheid, but in terms of copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, often within radically asymmetrical relations of power (1992: 6-7).

This is an important perspective of her work that recognises the two-way influence of cross-cultural encounters.

While Pratt's work looks at historical encounters and the transculturation that took place in contact zones on the 'colonial frontier,' anthropologist James Clifford applies his conception of the term to contemporary encounters in museums.[28] The examples in his 1997 paper focused on contemporary encounters on the historic colonial frontier too, in museums in settler nations, although his ideas have since been applied by many others to the colonial heartland, in places such as Oxford (Krmpotich and Peers 2013). A more detailed outline of Clifford's application of the concept of 'contact zone' to the study of encounters in museums, and its critics, is given in Chapter 4, which focuses on London cultural institutions. Here, I wish to draw attention to the key points relevant to my overall argument. Firstly, he brings past and present into the same analytical frame, consistent with the view of the past being accessible to us only in the present expounded notably by Dening. For example, he notes that Indigenous people refer to museum objects as "'records,' 'history,' and 'law,' inseparable from … ongoing moral lessons with current political force" (1997: 191). Emerging from this point is that, for Clifford, museums considered as contact zones are framed not as collections, but as ongoing historical, political, and moral relationships. What this brings into view are assumptions about

[28] Pratt recognises that the term frontier is problematic, noting that it is "grounded within a European expansionist perspective … that the frontier is a frontier only with respect to Europe" (1992: 6-7).

relationships themselves, such as "notions of exchange, justice, reciprocity," terms which may be contested in cross-cultural encounters in the contact zone (*ibid.*: 195). A further relevant point is made in Clifford's consideration of a visit by a group of Tlingit people to Portland Museum's basement store. This visit was a complex and multiple encounter which the Museum staff experienced as a process of collecting or consulting, but which Tlingit experienced as something greater. For them, Clifford points out, a "message was delivered, performed, within an ongoing contact history" (*ibid.*: 193). Thus, the same series of events can perform multiple roles in different relationships at the same time. The final key point here is that Clifford identified the continuity of the problems inherent in Pratt's 'contact zone'. For example, he notes in his Portland museum case study that a "kind of reciprocity was claimed, but not a give-and-take that could lead to a final meeting of minds, a coming together that would erase the discrepancies, the ongoing power imbalances of contact relations" (Clifford 1997: 192-3). This is Clifford's key point, and one that I endorse: 'museums as contact zones' potentially replicate at the site of the museum all the problems that Pratt identifies at the colonial frontier: "conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict" (Pratt 1992: 6).

1.5. Performance and/as History[29]

The word 'performance' is generally used to describe an event which is observed, such as a concert, a play, or a dance. A characteristic of 'a performance' is that it is planned and circumscribed, with a beginning, a middle and an end, for example. Performance events like this may be culturally specific; what is a performance in one culture, may not be recognised

[29] This is the title of a paper by Diana Taylor: Taylor, D., 2006. Performance and/as History. *TDR/The Drama Review* 50 (1): 67-86.

as such in another. Another understanding of the term 'performance' is as a "methodological lens that enables scholars to analyze events *as* performance" (Taylor 2003: 3, Taylor's emphasis). The sociologist Erving Goffman's (1959) use of the term in this sense to understand the sociology of everyday life has had a marked influence on scholarship (1959). Goffman's arguments dissolve the distinction between the surface appearance and some underlying essence that can be revealed through research:

> Life appeared to him to consist of various levels of understanding and awareness, not of layers covering a fundamental core which could be duly revealed by proper scientific work. … The theatre of performances is not in people's heads; it is in their public acts. People encounter each other's minds only by interacting, the quality and character of these interactions comes to constitute the consequential reality of everyday life. In everyday life things really are as they seem to be; but how they 'seem to be' is ever changing" (Brissett and Edgley, 1990: 36-7).[30]

Through the impact of scholars such as Goffman, the concept of performance has been applied far beyond the performing arts context and is now a commonplace term in such a wide range of disciplines that definitions are necessarily broad. Performance, for Richard Schechner for example, "must be construed as a 'broad spectrum' or 'continuum' of human actions ranging from ritual, play, sports, popular entertainments, the performing arts (theatre, dance, music), and everyday life performances to the enactment of social, professional, gender, race, and class roles, and on to healing (from shamanism to surgery), the media, and the internet … the underlying notion is that any action that is framed, enacted, presented, highlighted, or displayed is a performance" (Schechner 2013: 2). Furthermore, Schechner argues that:

[30] Nicky Gregson and Gillian Rose in their 2000 paper interpret Goffman differently from Dennis Brissett and Charles Edgley. There they contrast Goffman with Judith Butler. They associate Goffman with an essentialist view of an inner performer "an active, prior, conscious, and performing self" (2000: 433). They categorise Butler's approach as one that sees social "identities are in some sense constructed in and through social action, rather than existing anterior to social processes" (*ibid.*: 434).

> a performer in everyday life is not necessarily playing anyone but herself. Paradoxically, this self can be known only as it is enacted. … [W]hen an actor studies a person in ordinary life in order to prepare a role for the stage … this mimesis is actually not of 'real life' but of a performance. There is no such thing as unperformed or naturally occurring real life. The object of the actor's 'real life' study is also performing, though she may not be fully aware that her behaviour is codified. All behaviour is 'twice-behaved,' made up of new combinations of previously enacted doings (Schechner 2013: 220).

It is this sense of everyday behaviour 'as performance' that I use in this thesis in analysing historical cross-cultural encounters, commemorative events, and cultural institutions.

The terms performative and performativity (as used by John L. Austin, Jacques Derrida, and Judith Butler for example) emerged from philosophy and rhetoric (Taylor 2013: 5). My occasional use of the term 'performative' follows Austin, for whom a performative is where "the issuing of an utterance is the performing of an action" (1975: 6). The example often cited are the words "I do" spoken during a wedding ceremony; saying the words forms a contract. Norman K. Denzin explains performativity as what a performance does, beyond what a performance says (2003).

Performance studies approaches have an inherent focus on repertoires of behaviour situated in bodies in social relationship. In addition, my argument also recognises the relationship between performance and place. Behaviour takes place somewhere, and that place is an integral part of behaviour, as the approaches to place introduced above have recognised. Within performance studies, work on site-specific performance expresses this relationship in useful ways. For example, Fiona Wilkie highlights the reciprocal affordance offered by the relationship between performance and place: "site-specific performance engages with site as symbol, site as story-teller, site as structure" (Wilkie 2002a: 158). More broadly, she sees site-specific performance increasingly addressing questions of how "performance creates a space of encounter" (*ibid.*: 101). Site-specific performance then is

not only a performance responding to a place; performance invests place as much as place invests performance. Gay McAuley (2006; 2007) sets out the power of this perspective to facilitate a "deeper understanding of the spatialised nature of human culture," specifically "work emerges from a particular place, it engages intensively with the history and politics of that place, and with the resonance of these in the present" (2007: 9), enabling "the past to surge into the present" (2006: 150).

So site-specific performance approaches are also useful in understanding relationships between place and history. Jen Harvie argues that site-specific performance can act in both remembering and in forming a community. Place can act as a "mnemonic trigger" of memories of the past, but also facilitate the negotiation of meanings about the past (2005: 42). Pierre Nora uses the term "lieux de mémoire" to describe "any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community" (1992: xvii). There are clear resonances here with the references to place as a way of knowing for Indigenous peoples described above.

Christopher Balme's book *Pacific Performances* is a seminal application of a performance studies approach to historical cross-cultural encounters, in which he is concerned with theatricality, which, like 'performance' has "astonishing semantic breadth" (2006: 3). He defines theatricality as a perceptual framework that viewers such as Cook used to distinguish performances from other behaviours, between pretend and real actions. Thus, he focuses not on metaphorical but actual theatres of encounter. In it he explains his formulation of "three stages and modes of performative encounter" (2006: 19). He characterises the first by Tasman's use of "trumpets and sailors' dances in response to native conch shells and dances of welcome or warning". The second he places on the beach,

where encounters, especially sexual ones, were given "import and ideological power" in text and image representations. "The final stage of first encounter," he says, "is represented by the mimesis of the other, as both Polynesians and Europeans adopt each other's clothes and performances" (2006: 19-20).

The application of performance analysis approaches to history making itself was a particular concern of the anthropologically-minded historian Greg Dening.[31] In a compelling body of work particularly concerned with questions of exploration and encounter, Dening developed the argument that the "'theatricality of history making' involves the notion of viewing in a space so closed around with convention that the audience and actors enter into the conspiracy of their own illusions. The paradox is that self-awareness, performance consciousness, does not disturb the realisms of their understanding" (1993: 74). One crucial aspect of this approach is its intractable implication that history is a phenomenon of the present. History is made by transforming lived experience into narratives, "a universal and everyday human phenomenon … [and] *is* itself lived experience" (1993: 73-4, Dening's emphasis). A second is that the theatricality of our everyday experience of history making "is intense when the moment being experienced is full of ambivalences," such as cross-cultural encounters (1993: 77).

Performance approaches to commemoration in geography have recently been summarised and discussed by Shanti Sumartojo. She highlights non-representational approaches concerned with emergent and ongoing processes, consistent with the approaches to place introduced above. Sumartojo defines geographies of commemoration through their concern with "the dynamic and productive relationship between place,

[31] For example 'The theatricality of history making and the paradoxes of acting,' 1993; *Mr Bligh's Bad Language: Passion, Power and Theatre on the Bounty*, 1994; *Performances*, 1996; and 'Performing on the beaches of the mind: an essay,' 2002.

memory, the state and its histories and people" noting that they "usually focus on particular sites or regular events that are organised, maintained, or sponsored by official bodies" (2020: 1). It is worth noting here that the identification of commemoration with performance is not new, and Paul Connerton's 1989 *How Societies Remember* is often cited as a seminal work in this vein. Connerton argues that commemorative events are ritual ceremonies, sharing with rituals the two characteristics of formalism, which restricts the range of linguistic choices, and performativity, where the words spoken are meaningful only in the context of specific performances. However, commemorative events, Connerton argues, are distinct from all other rituals in their reference to prototypical people and events and in their reassuring, recurring re-enactment, which he describes as "a quality of cardinal importance in the shaping of communal meaning" (1989: 61). Such prototypical events are a feature of modernity, a deliberate forgetting "in the hope of reaching … a point of origin that marks a new departure" (De Man 1970: 388-9). The focus on firsts in many commemorations associated with narratives of the birth of nations, such as Cook's arrival in Aotearoa New Zealand, is a clear example. For Warwick Frost and Jennifer Laing, "the date provides a form of authenticity" (2013: 2). They argue that a date provides a crucial fixed point in a dynamic context, the importance of which can be more clearly understood in the context of Sumartojo's review.

Sumartojo's discussion focuses on "new geographies of commemoration". In these, she traces an interest in the way the meanings of commemorative events and places are formed, at least in part, by the way people "perceive, sense and feel them" (2020: 1). The materiality of sites themselves are also clearly engaged in such experiences. She refers to the "hulking presence" of Melbourne's Shrine of Remembrance, which may invoke experiences of solemn reverence or discomforting pressure to behave in certain ways. Such

impacts can also affect other spaces relevant to this thesis, such as museums, which can themselves be deeply symbolic national memorials. A further aspect of commemorative performativity that Sumartojo draws attention to is coverage in broadcast, print, and social media. The work of Anderson suggests that these "representations-in-relation" have "force" and are highly active in the generation of affect (2018: 1). The new geographies of commemoration then, "take up the ongoing emergent 'becoming' at the heart of non-representational theory, extending it with a concern for how the past is represented and narrated" (Sumartojo 2020: 6). Furthermore, recent studies have also extended their attention to before and after the moments defined as the commemorative events themselves (see for example Chantal Kesteloot and Laurence van Ypersele 2016). In practice, this involves paying attention to the conscious intent of commemorative event organisers, the social and cultural milieux from which such events emerge, the discourses that foreshadow and reflect on the commemorative moment, and the individual and collective experiences of those who participate. National identity is made and unmade through commemorative moments and places being "both stabilised and challenged" in the process. Frost and Laing highlight that "for commemorative events the level of contestation may be very high and difficult to resolve" (2013: 1). Furthermore, they argue that even events planned with strategic outcomes are likely to provoke multiple and contested meanings (2013: 11). Thus, the stable elements, most obviously the date, become particularly important.

In the case of white settler communities such as Aotearoa New Zealand, as well as Australia, Canada, and South Africa, Indigenous populations have a definitive role in the processes around national identity. As the essays in *Rethinking Settler Colonialism* make clear, what distinguishes these countries' identities "is fundamentally contingent on their

relationship to and with the various indigenous communities they necessarily encountered" (Coombes 2006: 1). In Aotearoa New Zealand, changes in the ways national identity has been made and unmade through heritage and commemorations is clearly linked to relationships between the settler population and Māori (Gentry 2015; Trapeznik 2000). Early interest in heritage in Aotearoa New Zealand focused on the unspoilt environment and early European events, reflecting white settler national identity as a frontier community of the British Empire. These themes are reflected in early documentary films and in those of the later, inter-war period, raising questions about the authenticity of Indigenous performances and relationships to national cultural institutions such as museums (Ruoff 2016; Bell *et al.* 2013). As early as WWI, Māori tikanga (protocol) was being appropriated to distinguish the nation from its mother country, with the country's rugby team regularly performing a haka before international matches (Gentry 2015: 76). By the 1930s and 40s, with the flurry of 100-year anniversaries of early European settlement, the nation was ever more clearly defining itself as a country with a history of its own. Pākehā interest in Māori culture was self-serving, building an indigenous culture for themselves (Gentry 2015: 59). This process was driven locally as much as nationally, sometimes through the same events. For example, Gisborne's pride in its links to Cook's first landing performed a national role but was "principally motivated by local pride in the past or in claims to national pre-eminence" (Gentry 2015: 153).

Gisborne's engagements with commemorative events also demonstrate the temporal continuity exemplified by Kesteloot and van Ypersele (2016) mentioned above. Rebecca Nuttall, in her study of Gisborne's 1969 commemorative events, refers to the advantages of seeing commemoration as "an ongoing practice" (2016: 3). The advantages are clearly manifest in Karen Stevenson's study of commemorative events in Tahiti over an extended

period of more than a century. She shows how the composition, timing, and even the name of the event has changed to reflect cultural and political changes in Tahiti over that period. Such processes would not be evident in discrete studies at different times, which could conceivably have understood them as different events rather than evolutions of the same commemorative ritual (Stevenson 1990).

An important element of commemorations of cross-cultural encounters is the performance of historical re-enactment. While recognising the growth of historical re-enactment in recent decades (Agnew 2004), it is worth noting in the points that follow the continuity from historical pageants such as the Pageant of London staged at the Festival of Empire and Imperial Exhibition at Crystal Palace in 1911 (Ryan 1999). Historical re-enactment is based on assumptions about the accessibility of the past through embodied experience. Re-enactment promises to somehow bring the past closer, to offer its participants and audiences understanding beyond what is available through text. It even promises more understanding, or at least different understanding from that offered by other acted representations in film and television, although their methodologies and subject matters are similar (Agnew 2004; Agnew and Lamb 2009). In its broadest manifestations, re-enactment reveals multiple apparent paradoxes, including the freedom of participants to choose any past, real or imagined, to which they may have no personal historic relationship. In bringing people to the past, re-enactment also produces significant dislocations between people and their pasts. Jonathan Lamb also notes that the predictable nature of re-enactment can be disrupted by contingency in the present, a germ that can take history out of our hands and "instead of possessing the past, we are possessed by it" (Lamb 2009: 1). This is one of several disruptive features of the settler and creole re-enactment that Lamb is introducing. For Lamb, settlers confront history in three parts: their own experience of their

new world, the history of the mother country, and the history of the Indigenous people who preceded them. Being "inside" these histories, the purpose of re-enactment for settlers is far from clear. Would it make sense of their experiences in a new place? Or explain them to people in other countries? Reconcile Indigenous people to their presence? Or perform "an extravaganza" for its own sake? (Lamb 2009: 4-5). Vanessa Agnew raises another important question about re-enactments; that the events being re-enacted were, in important ways, not themselves original. The sources for Cook's voyages that she gives as an example "show that the voyagers invoked earlier models and were thus engaged in a form of re-enactment themselves" (2004: 332). Similar arguments are advanced by Patricia Seed (1995) and Diana Taylor (2013). Thus, re-enactments display similar challenges for researchers to those evident in commemorative events more broadly in identifying when they start and finish.

Tourists are among the several audiences for historical re-enactments. In settler societies, as Lamb notes above, relationships between settlers and Indigenous people are imbricated in historical re-enactments in particular. The same is also true for Indigenous performances for tourists more generally, as the work of Margaret Werry shows (2002; 2008; 2011). Framed by concepts such as spectacle and commodity, Werry's work reveals how such performance has "productive and dynamic force" (2011: 132). As Helen Gilbert and Charlotte Gleghorn point out, the same event "can be a resource for the disenfranchised even as it seems to uphold the interests of the powerful" (2014: 6). Place, they go on to say, is an important element in the relationship between these two interests, and Coll Thrush goes as far as arguing that "particular locations … not only have meaning but volition" (2011: 54). Museums are examples of sites of performance where this kind of agency is evident, particularly highlighted through Indigenous performances.

The broader literature on performance and museums includes significant bodies of work on Indigenous performances in museums, covered in more detail in Chapter 4, and includes Gilbert and Gleghorn 2014; Eccles, 2008; Jacobs and Raymond, 2016; Raymond and Jacobs, 2009; and Tolia-Kelly 2019. In this section, I highlight the point that they reinforce, introduced in the literatures discussed above; the sense of the body itself as a site of performance, enabling resistance on the one hand, and the recruitment, or collection of Indigenous performances by the museum or state on the other, both of which are evident in the case studies that follow. There is another relevant aspect to such performances. Behind the Indigenous performances in museums are the cross-cultural encounters that take place in their planning, creation, and hosting. It is in addressing this expanded subject of interest that Diana Taylor's concept of scenario is a useful analytical approach.

Taylor describes the concept of scenarios as "meaning-making paradigms that structure social environments, behaviours, and potential outcomes." They "exist as culturally specific imaginaries – sets of possibilities, ways of conceiving conflict, crisis, or resolution – activated with more or less theatricality" (2003: 13). Use of her concept facilitates a focus on the behind-the-scenes behaviours. Taylor argues that scenarios "become so normalized as to transmit values and fantasies" while remaining invisible because they do not draw attention to themselves as conscious performance (2003: 54). Scenarios sit behind narratives and performances and can persist while the narratives they constrain may change. Taylor describes "a long line of scenarios of discovery of wild men and women in the New World" to make her case (2003: 53). One example of how this has been applied in commemorative performance is Diana Looser's 2014 study, where, by examining three works of contemporary Pacific theatre, she questions why the scenario of discovery has persisted in recent performances relating to James Cook in the Pacific, despite

attempts by Indigenous Pacific Island scholars to decentre or even side-line Cook (2014: 65-67). Some of the answer, according to Looser, lies in the framing power of scenarios, the way they underly the content of script and narrative, often invisible, and rendering certain, usually subaltern, views invisible too. So, while analysis using the scenario implies content like script and narrative, it can be used as a lens that broadens and deepens our perspective to bring into focus milieu as well as bodies and their gestures. Through such a focus, the actions and behaviours that appear to be predictable and inevitable can be viewed in terms of the scenario that sets up and limits the range of possibilities. Once visible and a focus, these limits can themselves then be questioned; "they are ultimately flexible and open to change" (Taylor 2003: 28-29). Here, Taylor brings to mind Massey's geographical expositions on space and place, where the openness to change is crucial. Where Taylor alludes to place in her work on performance ("localized meaning" Taylor 2003: 28), and Massey alludes to performance in her work on place ("the practicing of place" Massey 2005: 154), I bring them together here as complementary foundations for understanding performative dynamics of place making, through the persistence in commemorative activations of what I call the 'scenario of encounter'. In places of cross-cultural encounter, the "elements of chaos, openness and uncertainty" that Massey refers to in making any place are heightened to an extreme extent by the destabilizing of otherwise normal rules of negotiation, at least initially. In Chapter 2, I apply the concept to the Endeavours, who, as they struggled to recognise the need to find alternatives to their familiar frameworks, reinforced elements of a scenario of encounter that have persisted for centuries. In Chapters 3 to 5, I apply the concept to the behind-the-scenes encounters of commemorative events, of museum exhibitions and their public programmes, and of film making.

As well as applying Diana Taylor's concept of scenarios, I also draw extensively throughout this thesis on her definitions of 'the archive' and 'the repertoire'. Taylor includes in her definition of archive a wide range of material forms, including texts such as press and monographs as well as monuments and buildings. In the repertoire, she includes performance forms such as re-enactments, ceremonies, entertainments, and commemorative events. One of the central propositions of her 2003 monograph is that there are often-hidden value judgements about the relative importance of archive and repertoire. The archive is often judged to be objective and lasting, the repertoire as subjective and ephemeral. Such judgements can have profound and lasting effects. As Taylor puts it:

> What is at risk politically in thinking about embodied knowledge and performance as ephemeral as that which disappears? Whose memories "disappear" if only archival knowledge is valorized and granted permanence? (Taylor 2003: 36-7).

Yet the archive as defined by Taylor has frequently been considered superior based on myths or misunderstandings about its stability and objectivity. The archive is not stable, objective, or unmediated, whether it be a documentary archive, a museum collection, or public monuments and buildings. More importantly, nor are these forms of archiving independent of the performance repertoire. As Taylor puts it "the archive and the repertoire exist in a constant state of interaction. […] They usually work in tandem and they work alongside other systems of transmission – the digital and the visual to name two" (2003: 21).

One of the advantages of Diana Taylor's exploration of the dynamic relationship between archive and repertoire lies essentially in bringing two approaches to place together: object- and process-oriented approaches (Agnew 2011). Taylor shows how both material archive and performed repertoire can transfer knowledge, resist change, and

perpetuate the status quo. While the material, often exemplified by text, is typically afforded a dominant status, "performances [also] function as vital acts of transfer, transmitting social knowledge, memory, and a sense of identity through reiterated, or Schechner's 'twice-behaved behaviour'" (1985: 36). Examples of the dynamic relationship between archive and repertoire that my thesis case studies consider include the inscription of memorial events through the Cook monument in Gisborne, re-enactments and performances performed to be filmed, the inscription of power in museum architecture and collections, and a film that is a synergy of both archive and repertoire in these broader senses.

I have one final crucial point to draw here from Diana Taylor's work. Following her 2003 book *The Archive and the Repertoire*, she looked deeper into the relationship of performance to history. Performances may express narratives about the past, they may perpetuate or reactivate scenarios from the past, but they may also maintain cultural capital such as organisational forms and tacit knowledges – 'know-how' – beyond the narrative subject (2006: 68). Thus, performances, the repertoire, work as acts of transfer on three levels, making them powerful means of both maintaining communities' historical knowledge and perpetuating power relationships.

Building on these conceptions of archive, repertoire, and scenario, and responding specifically to Taylor's idea of the scenario of discovery, I propose and outline here the concept of a scenario of encounter with three elements – contact, dissonance, and resolution. I argue that this formulation offers a way of understanding the flexibility, persistence, and openness to change of the historic and commemorative moments in my case studies. Contact comes first in any encounter. The scenario is affected by how, why, by whom, and where contact is made. Dissonance is an experience of difference that may

become apparent, and during which assumptions about cultural differences can lead to conflict and/or creative adaptation. Any form of resolution which may follow is affected by the processes of contact and reactions to dissonance. Unresolved dissonance can be perpetuated through the scenario of encounter by the continuing suppression of opportunities for other outcomes. The thesis interrogates this model through the four chosen case studies.

1.6. Approaches, Methods, and Sources

In approaching this research project, I have benefitted from decades of reflection by others on the ethics, practicalities, and politics of research within and beyond the academy, as well as discussion of both within my circle of staff and student colleagues. One of the most intractable dilemmas that I have wrestled with in undertaking my research has been the profound tension between Western academic research and Indigenous ways of knowing. These are clearly not mutually exclusive categories; there are for example vast numbers of Indigenous researchers using Western methods. However, the tension between the two is no less an issue for Indigenous researchers than it is for Western ones. Invaluably explored by Linda Tuhiwai Smith in *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, itself indeed written for Indigenous researchers, this conflict is less about choosing methods, but about the "context in which research problems are conceptualised and designed and the implications of research for its participants and their communities" (Tuhiwai Smith 2012: ix). "In a very real sense," Tuhiwai Smith says, "research has been an encounter between the West and the Other" (Tuhiwai Smith 2012: 8). I conceive my research for this thesis as another iteration of such an encounter; in choosing to study historic cross-cultural encounters and commemorations, I have participated in new contemporary cross-cultural

encounters. I see this as a fundamental challenge for my research, apparent in various guises throughout the thesis. Issues arising from cross-cultural research also emerge in other contexts, such as feminist geography and post-colonial research for example (Skelton 2009: 398). The complexity of the issues raised cannot be overestimated. Consider a premise defining cross-cultural research that it involves the researcher engaging with places and/or people and cultures different from their own. In historic definitions of place and culture, clear boundaries were assumed between them. More recently, recognition of the instability of boundaries and the mutual creation of both place and culture through processes of encounter described above have become more common and underpin this thesis. Specific examples of issues that may arise in cross-cultural research include the positionality of the researcher as insider or outsider, as similar or different, as powerful or subaltern (Skelton 2009: 399-400). Rather than seeing these categories as mutually exclusive binaries, researchers may find themselves slipping along more than one continuum from one status to another. The categories overlap too, leading to a vision of a web of relationships that are fluid and coexisting. In such a web, the most important approach researchers can use is reflexivity throughout the research process.

In the following chapters, I make the contexts of cross-cultural encounter in different forms of commemoration at different times and places more visible by applying the concept of scenarios. In this chapter, responding to Tuhiwai Smith, I apply it to my own research approach, methods, and sources. Firstly, and most broadly, I draw attention to the overarching intention of this thesis to focus on scenarios as a means of explaining how Western ways of knowing are perpetuated, how they may be brought into focus, and thereby questioned and changed. In developing and applying the concept of scenarios of encounter, I echo Ashis Nandy's argument that colonialism perpetuates rules that set up

how encounters take place. As an example, Nandy explains that colonialism "creates a culture in which the ruled are constantly tempted to fight their rulers within the psychological limits set by the latter" (1989: 3).

Secondly, I have in this study deliberately avoided the temptation to present 'both sides of the beach' as Dening has so famously put it, instead choosing to focus my critical view within my own milieu.[32] I acknowledge my responsibility as a Western writer to critically reflect on my own history and historiography. I accept the limits that my situation brings with it. I reject the idea that I could write a complete or whole account of the events I have chosen to study. Nor do I accept the idea that my voice can seek out or be brought together with others to create a complete or whole, let alone harmonious, account of those events. Rather, I embrace the idea that my voice is one among many, and the spaces into which I project it are resonant, dissonant, or indifferent with others, all of them thrown together from the contingencies of their times and places. That said, I have not isolated myself from other perspectives. Indeed, I have sought them out, to understand some of the limits to my perspective. They enable me to reflect on ways in which I might meet them with respect, with an awareness of my own limits, and with a willingness to respond to the contingencies of our encounters in ways that create or welcome opportunities for positive relationships.

Greg Dening's extensive body of work offers a focus on the different perspectives on encounter events from 'both sides of the beach' – from the sea, and from the shore. Dening broadens this idea from his early work on the history of specific colonial encounters, such as in the Marquesas, to consider the making of the disciplines of history and anthropology

[32] Dening, G. 2004 *Beach Crossings: Voyages Across Times, Cultures, and Self.* Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press: 17.

themselves.[33] When looking at events from both sides of the beach, he concludes that he must challenge the old assumption that only the West has a history, and only the Other has an ethnography. His work thus makes space for the history of the Other and writes ethnography of the West. Throughout this thesis, I have moved into Dening's space to bring an anthropological eye to Western history and commemoration; I have acknowledged and celebrated Tāngata Moana telling and making their own histories.

I acknowledge that my upbringing, especially my education, has provided me with many of the assumptions, methods, and limitations of Western ways of knowing. Despite, or perhaps revealed by, my interest from a very young age in peoples and places different from my own, I have approached all encounters with them from within my web of Western concepts and relationships. As a descendant of colonisers and a beneficiary of colonisation, I recognise how I unconsciously resist other ways of knowing in my cross-cultural encounters. Furthermore, it has become increasingly clear to me during my research how time and form constrain what academic research is and can be. Fixed start and end dates and the thesis format emerge from Western research traditions that trace clear roots to Enlightenment definitions of knowledge. In these traditions, the origination and conclusion of research lies with the researchers and their institutions. The right to know is assumed, and the way of knowing is implicit. As the following chapters show repeatedly and explicitly, time constraints have a significant impact on the processes of relationship building in cross-cultural encounters that are so important in creating trust and facilitating genuine

[33] Dening, G. 1988. Islands and Beaches: *Discourse on a Silent Land: Marquesas, 1774-1880*. (Chicago: Dorsey Press); Dening, G. 1995. The Death of William Gooch: A History's Anthropology. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing).

partnerships and collaboration. I note with humility my attempt to respond to Tuhiwai Smith's critical questions.[34]

This research is based on a linked sequence of case studies focused on outstanding forms, moments, and places of commemoration. Case studies are of particular value where research seeks to understand the how or why of social phenomena using in-depth methods (Yin 2014: 4). In seeking to interrogate the concept of scenarios of encounter and how they are perpetuated over time in different places and forms, I have undertaken four focused case studies. The first examines the encounters provoked by the *Endeavour's* landfall at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa Poverty Bay in Aotearoa New Zealand between 8 and 11 October 1769. Many of those aboard kept logs and journals, and these, together with a selection of the subsequent histories that draw on them, form the archival sources for the account of those 'first encounters' in Chapter 2. The events in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa Poverty Bay have been commemorated on many occasions since, in 1919 and 1969 for example, and five of these are the focus of the case study in Chapter 3, which is based on a combination of archival and field research, including interviews with people involved in planning the most recent commemorative events of 2019. In Chapter 4, the scene changes to London, and the case study focuses on sites of commemorative events in 2018 linked to the *Endeavour* voyage, exhibitions at the British Library, the Royal Academy of Arts, and the National Maritime Museum. Here, I draw on field research, participant observation of meetings and events, and interviews. In Chapter 5, the focus is on a different kind of site – that of film – and its relationship to the places that are covered in Chapters 3 and 4. The subject here is Lala

[34] 1. Whose research is it? 2. Who owns it? 3. Whose interests does it serve? 4. Who will benefit from it? 5. Who has designed the questions and framed its scope? 6. Who will carry it out? 7. Who will write it up? 8. How will the results be disseminated?

Rolls' 2020 feature documentary, *Tupaia's Endeavour*, and I use interviews and methods drawn from film analysis.

Through the juxtaposition of the case studies, and subsequent discussion of the connections between them, I draw out aspects of the relationships between commemoration, place, and history. The decision to focus on the *Endeavour* voyage and encounters in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa Poverty Bay was prompted initially by the preparations for commemorations of the 250th anniversary of the *Endeavour* voyage in Aotearoa New Zealand and London. The inclusion of Lala Rolls' 2020 feature documentary *Tupaia's Endeavour* as a third 'site' of study was enabled by early contact with the producer/director and allowed for a wider consideration of the forms of archive and repertoire involved in commemoration. In combination, the case studies which constitute the core of the thesis enable the development of and reflection on its foundational concepts, including place and the idea of the contact zone, encounter and performance, and Taylor's conceptions of scenario, archive, and repertoire.

Methodologies deployed across the case studies that are covered here include those of field research, interviews, archival research, close reading, participant observation, and film analysis. More detailed discussion of some sources and methods used during the research is situated within individual case studies, where it is more directly relevant.

Field research, or fieldwork, carries with it some of the issues identified above in respect of cross-cultural research, since, for example, definition of 'the field' is one of the foundational ways in which researchers define place. Echoing the historical developments noted above, 'the field' is no longer defined as "somewhere 'out there' to be explored by a detached researcher" away from their normal work environment (Bosco and Moreno 2009: 119). Human geographers now recognise that researchers are inseparable from their

definitions of what constitutes 'the field' as a site of enquiry through and throughout the research process; there are relations "between the constitution of the field and the constitution of the self" (*ibid.*: 120). I have been challenged throughout this research project as I have encountered specific examples of the implications of these fundamental issues. As a British Library employee, and a PhD student on a three-month placement there, and with the Library's *James Cook: The Voyages* exhibition as one of my 'field sites,' questions about what exactly the field site was and when I was or was not 'there' arose frequently.

With the foregoing issues raised and acknowledged, my field research for the case studies in this thesis was conducted in both Aotearoa New Zealand and London. For Chapters 2 and 3, I was based in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa Poverty Bay to focus on locations that were significant in the historical events of October 1769 as well as sites of commemorative events and monuments. I also undertook a broader survey of public installations and art in the town of Gisborne. For both, I took notes and photographs, while experiencing and reflecting on the situation and distribution of sites. In Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, I found it immensely valuable to experience first-hand the places – including the landscape features and the distances and relationships between them – that featured in the events of 8 to 11 October 1769. Likewise, for Chapter 3, personal experience of the routes of commemorative processions and the commemorative sites and monuments to which they led was enriching. For Chapter 4, I made multiple visits between April and December 2018 to three exhibition spaces – *James Cook: The Voyages* at the British Library, *Oceania* at the Royal Academy, and *Pacific Encounters* at the National Maritime Museum. While in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, I was also able to experience filming locations for Lala Rolls' *Tupaia's Endeavour*, covered in Chapter 5.

The field visits in Aotearoa New Zealand and London also enabled interviews for three of the case studies. For Chapter 3, I conducted interviews with participants involved in the

planning of the lead up, the 2019 commemorative events themselves, and their legacies. For Chapter 4, I conducted one formal interview, with other material drawn from my notes taken as a participant observer at meetings and curator tours of the exhibitions. I interviewed the director and the three principal narrators of *Tupaia's Endeavour* for Chapter 5. My selection of interviewees for the case study chapters typically started with discussions with key contacts, snowballing further as the interviews and research progressed. Two valued contacts were film producer/director Lala Rolls, who I contacted initially in 2017 and with whom I stayed in frequent contact during the film's editing, and Anne Salmond, with whom I co-authored an article for the British Library's *James Cook: The Voyages* website. Rolls had spent many weeks in the Tūranganui-a-Kiwa Poverty Bay and Ūawa Tolaga Bay areas while planning, filming, and screening editions of the film between 2017-19. She put me in touch with all the local participants, and I requested meetings with them. Anne Salmond meanwhile has lived in the Tūranganui Poverty Bay area for much of her life and has excellent contacts there. She suggested possible interviewees, some of whom were the same as Rolls had suggested, while others were new to me. Some of those that I interviewed suggested other people to contact. Through Rolls I also contacted the three principal participants in the film: social anthropologist Paul Tapsell (Te Arawa, Ngāti Raukawa), actor Kirk Torrance (Ngāti Kahnungunu), and artist Michael Tuffery (Samoa, Rangiātea). My interviews were conducted in public places chosen by mutual consent. They were based on a template that was tailored to each interviewee. Interviews lasted between 40 and 120 minutes, and most were audio recorded. Where this was not possible, I took notes. I undertook a total of 20 interviews, mostly face to face in Aotearoa New Zealand, with one in London and another conducted via Skype before leaving the UK. Some of those interviewed requested to remain anonymous; I have been given permission to use quotes

anonymously. Interviews were transcribed either manually or via NVivo Transcription. Factors that I took into consideration when setting up and conducting my interviews included: deciding who to contact and what effect those choices would have on the information and opinions gathered; the power relationship during the interview, including the locations they took place; to what extent my beginner standard of te reo Māori might affect the interview relationship; and the impact of using only audio recording and its later transcription.[35]

Concerning textual sources, original manuscripts of *Endeavour* logs and journals at the National Archives and the British Library were particularly important materials for the account presented in Chapter 2. Key secondary sources such as Beaglehole's seminal (1955) *Journals of Captain James Cook* and Salmond's ground-breaking *Two Worlds* (1991) provided vital context and direction for the reading of these sources.[36] For those versions of the original manuscripts which are now in Australia, I relied on published transcripts: for example, in the case of Monkhouse's journal, and when considering differences between the extant Cook's journals, I used those reproduced in Beaglehole. When consulting the journals and logs, I focused almost exclusively on the days at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, taking photographs of the relevant pages in the archives and transcribing the text later. When not focused on these pages, I read through the documents to gain a sense of the way the whole had been written, noting, for example, the degree of adherence to the column and row system of observations by hour, the existence of freehand manuscript notes, and the notes often made at the beginning of volumes.

[35] From February to December 2018, I undertook a te reo Māori course run by Ngāti Rānana (London Māori Club). The course gave equal weight to te reo and tikanga Māori (Māori protocol), which proved invaluable in Aotearoa New Zealand.
[36] Beaglehole, J., (1955). Salmond, A., (1991). *Two Worlds.*

For Chapter 3, I consulted archives in two institutions in Gisborne. The first was the Gisborne District Council archive, located at Banks Street in Gisborne. The archive contains minute books from the time of the formation of the first Gisborne Borough Council in 1877, and correspondence books dating from 1882. Having explained my research to Mrs Mahea Tupara (Te Aitanga a Hauiti and Te Aitanga a Māhaki) of the archive service several months before my trip, I had a list of relevant files which were extracted from storage and made available for me to consult under supervision. I started by prioritising the years and topics of most interest, these being 1969 meeting minutes and any documents relating to the 1919 commemorative events. I browsed all folders and photographed all relevant pages, to enable more detailed research once I had returned to the UK. This enabled me to review the most important material and to then gather supplementary material about other Cook related events and meetings. I was thus able to find other useful material relating to interim anniversaries, and ephemera from 1969, such as invitations, newspaper cuttings and photographs.

The second archive I visited in Gisborne was Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti Museum and Art Gallery, where I consulted the text archives and the photographic archive, guided by Archivist Christine Page and Curator of Photography Dudley L. Meadows. Again, staff searched the catalogues for me to identify the material most relevant to my research. I consulted the documents and images over the two weeks in Gisborne under supervision. One of the photographic archives was of special interest, providing a vital record of the commemorative events of 1905 and 1906. This was created by the well-known and highly respected local figure of William Fitzgerald Crawford. Born in Ireland in 1844 and arriving in Gisborne in 1874, he built up his extensive, high-quality archive over many years, having

been Gisborne's first mayor following its establishment in 1877, and focusing increasingly on photography in later years until his departure in 1913.[37]

Gisborne District Council's archives are organised more systematically than those at Te Whare Taonga (the Museum and Art Gallery). That said, the Council's archive also includes artefacts and ephemera, such as gifts to the Council and press cuttings, which were acquired and stored in far less structured ways. While the archive catalogues and lists were useful in locating relevant records, such structure can give a misleading impression of the completeness, neutrality, and objectivity of the archive. As Joan M. Schwartz and Terry Cook have noted "archives are established by the powerful to protect or enhance their position in society. Through archives, the past is controlled. Certain stories are privileged and others marginalized" (2002: 1). Questions of democratic representation, priorities, and control of record-keeping should rightly be raised in consulting this archive. During the main period I was researching in the Gisborne District Council archive, the 1960s, the influence of the mayor and secretary appear from the minutes to be very strong. Furthermore, the limits of text in recording the present have already been mentioned above and will be further covered in Chapter 2. Debates and disagreements, if they are recorded at all, may be reduced from their intensity and complexity to statements that might conceivably be barely recognisable to those who were there. Further weaknesses include the degeneration of some materials in the archive, some of which had been retyped for microfilming. The possibility that some items have been lost or have decayed and been discarded must be born in mind. Some of the strengths of a Council archive include the record of who attended and spoke at meetings, and the decisions that were taken there. At best, Gisborne District

[37] Robinson, S., (1993) *Crawford, William Fitzgerald*. Dictionary of New Zealand Biography [online]. Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Available at: https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2c37/crawford-william-fitzgerald, [accessed 16 May 2020].

Council's archive offers a complete set of meeting records from the initial public meeting to form a Cook Bicentennial Celebrations Committee, through to completion of the commemorations and the subsequent resolution of disagreements about paying for them.

Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti Museum and Art Gallery archives are less formally structured. As with many museums, collections have been built up by donations and the preferences of curators over the years. Two archives were of special interest: the personal archive of Mike Brittenden, who was responsible for publicity for the Cook Bicentenary Celebrations Committee; and William Fitzgerald Crawford's photographic archive mentioned above. The Brittenden archive contained some material also held by Gisborne District Council, mainly minutes of meetings that he had attended and reports he wrote to the committee. Additional material included press cuttings that he collected, ephemera, and photographs that he took or was given. Some personal but relevant correspondence is also held in the archive. The Crawford archive was a treasure trove of superb images that offered me an opportunity to extend my research back before my initially planned start date of 1919. Through his photographs, and the press articles that I later obtained through the New Zealand 'Papers Past' website,[38] I was able to examine the relationship between archive and repertoire revealed by the filming of a re-enactment of the landings in 1905. Such serendipity is also a feature of archive research and coming across 'hidden' material like this is, for me, is one of the best opportunities of consulting physical archives. Nonetheless, caution is still necessary. I have no reason to believe that other photographers were active at this time recording the events of 1905, but this archive is still a very personal choice of subjects on the part of Crawford. Furthermore, photographs can lead us to attribute more

[38] Papers Past, National Library of New Zealand: https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers [accessed 11 November 2020].

confidence in the veracity of images as records of events than they deserve; photographs can and do 'lie'. The choice of what to photograph and how to do so profoundly affect what meaning we may later attach to them.

While the methodology of close reading or close analysis has a long history, it is usually associated with the New Criticism and its influence within English Studies (Barry 2002). The aims of close reading include unpacking text and revealing hidden meanings to explore their significance. It is not assumed that there is one interpretation; multiple meanings, ambiguities, and ironies are often found through close reading (Jasinski 2001; van Louy and Baetens 2003). Close reading depends both on texts and contextual information such as when, why, and for whom it was written. A three-month placement at the British Library in support of its exhibition *James Cook: The Voyages* during the period I was undertaking research for this thesis gave me the opportunity for close study of primary and secondary sources to contribute to the Library's online materials complementing the exhibition. My role in preparing a bibliography of work for exhibition curators encouraged close attention to the fine detail of the use of words, grammar, and style, and the examination of absences and alterations between different versions of the same text. Beaglehole's comparison of the different versions of Cook's surviving journals is an example. In Chapter 2, I pay close attention to the journal entries for the three days at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, comparing different authors' accounts of the same events. I also compare later uses of those journal entries by subsequent authors. For example, I compare Cook's journal entries with the text describing the same events in Hawkesworth, who edited the first Admiralty-authorised account of the voyage. [39]

[39] Hawkesworth, John, 1773. *Accounts of the Voyages … in the Southern Hemisphere.* Volumes II and III. Available online at: http://southseas.nla.gov.au/journals/hv23/contents.html, [accessed 12 November 2020].

For Chapter 2 in particular I used the method of close reading of very specific moments in the *Endeavour* voyage in order to explore the dynamics of encounter, as well as its presentation in contemporaneous and later accounts. This method has a particular purpose in relation to my research, and by no means exhausts the potential uses of such sources in the study of the experience and representation of encounter during the whole voyage. For example, there is potential for a longitudinal approach to these texts, where specific topics or concepts might be compared over the years of the voyage. Do authors change the way they refer to 'natives' over time? Is there any evidence of learning or at least of referring to prior events, from one encounter to the next? How does their relationship, if any, with intermediaries such as Tupaia and Taiato change or develop? While such questions are clearly of great interest to historians of the *Endeavour* voyage, they lie beyond the scope of this thesis.

Alongside fieldwork, interviews, and close readings of archives, I took the role of participant observer in both London and Aotearoa New Zealand. In London, as described in Chapter 4, there were two contexts for this form of observation. The first context was as a member of the audience for opening events and public programmes at the British Library, Royal Academy of Art, and National Maritime Museum. I was present as a guest for two opening events at the British Library (26 April and 5 July 2018) and a third at the National Maritime Museum (19 September 2018). I also attended events on the opening weekend at the National Maritime Museum (22 September 2018). I attended talks and a screening of *Tupaia's Endeavour* at the British Library, and a seminar at the Royal Academy. The second context was as a participant in a series of knowledge exchange workshops called Travellers' Tails involving professional staff from the British Library, Royal Academy, and National Maritime Museum. These workshops were organised by Maria Amidu of the National

Maritime Museum for staff who had been involved in the creation of the exhibitions that are the focus of the London case study in Chapter 4. In this context, I qualified as staff because of my separate employment on a map project, and as a workshop contributor because of my placement research for the British Library *James Cook: The Voyages* exhibition. Three workshops took place, one hosted by each institution, on 9 August and 8 and 18 October 2018. Each workshop consisted of two parts. In the first part, one of the curators offered a guided and commented tour of the exhibition, followed by a discussion. In the second, there was a themed discussion between delegates, without the curators, which was designed to build from one workshop to the next.

In Gisborne, I participated in a pōwhiri[40] (formal welcome) at Muriwai marae (meeting ground, often including the wharenui – the meeting house) on 2 November 2018, and a public meeting on 4 November 2018, both of which deepened my understanding of local cultural and political dynamics. The first of these was the launch of a marae-led research and education project about the appearance and disappearance of the waka (canoe) *Horouta* near Muriwai marae in 1940. The latter was the second of two meetings on that day to discuss the findings of a collaborative environmental research project on the Waimata River. There are significant advantages to participant observation, not least simply being present in the room. In Gisborne, where I had been unable to gain access to planning meetings, I relied on interviews with one or two people who were present at some of the meetings, and so my information was mediated by their interpretation and possible censoring. While such interpretation has its own advantages, in that hidden social influences like iwi politics might be interpreted for me, it was also a kind of veil between me and the

[40] Spelled pōhiri in some parts of the country.

discussions. Nonetheless, participant observation itself does not guarantee direct access to the meanings of events and processes for all the participants, especially in the cross-cultural context of the pōwhiri. I have no doubt that my understanding of both events was limited in predictable ways. However, for me the greatest advantage in the experience of being a participant in the pōwhiri, is to know, viscerally, what it feels like to be faced with a wero (ritual challenge), to face a dextrous display of weapon handling, in a language and cultural context that I was almost totally unfamiliar with. One of the basic tenets of my argument in this thesis is that in narrating cross-cultural encounters we engage in contemporary cross-cultural encounters. One of the main reasons for undertaking field work in Aotearoa New Zealand was to place myself in such a context, to welcome challenges to my prior assumptions and conditioning, and to know what that feels like.

The most fundamental disadvantage usually associated with participant observation is the possibility that our presence will affect what we are observing. There is no way round this issue: the best we can do is to acknowledge it and try to identity the most likely ways in which we may have influenced the observation. In the workshops referred to in Chapter 4, I acknowledge that my participation is likely to have had effects on what I observed. I was a moderately active participant in discussions and feedback, and my contributions entered the dynamics of the discussion. In the two events in Gisborne, my participation was far more limited. The pōwhiri involved well over 100 people, and I was one of around a dozen manuhiri (visitors). The public meeting about the Waimata River was attended by over 50 people, mostly as members of the audience like me. My body was present, but I made no other contribution to the proceedings in either case.

Echoing close reading, methods of film analysis attempt to go beyond the immediate content to interpret their meanings. Film analysis considers questions of structure and form,

production and viewing, and wider cultural contexts of film (Mikos 2014). Whether fiction or documentary, a film is a subjective communication, with key decisions based on the interests of the production team, on audience, funding, narrative, scenography, composition, editing, soundtrack, and many other aspects of film production. As a medium of communication, an important distinction is made between a film's production and its reception, raising questions about the role of active viewers and their engagement with film in both cognitive and affective ways (Fiske, 1987). I have therefore approached *Tupaia's Endeavour* by considering reception as well as production. Through these engagements with audiences, film offers multiple potential meanings which are ultimately constrained by the combination of production choices. The latest edit of the film available when I undertook my analysis was Cut 3. I have viewed all subsequent edits to assess the implications of any changes for my analysis. There are many differences, for example in the opening sequences, but the analysis in Chapter 5 remains valid. My analysis draws out some of the ways in which the film's production frames the audiences' potential engagements, for example in ways that include or exclude some viewers. Just as film is a result of diverse entangled decisions by the production team, so film analysis is ultimately shaped by key choices made by the critic.

1.7. Conclusions

At the heart of my approach to the thesis is the argument that places both form and are formed through social, cultural, and environmental encounters. In the particular contexts of cross-cultural encounters, such dynamics have been described as taking place within 'contact zones' both in historic encounters on Indigenous land (Pratt 1992) and in contemporary encounters in museums (which may also be on Indigenous land) (Clifford,

1997). While individual encounters are contingent on time and place and their narratives are variable and even unpredictable, they are constrained through the persistence of dominant scenarios. Through their often-invisible influence, activated by the relationship between what Diana Taylor refers to as archive and repertoire, such scenarios appear to privilege continuity, often of inequalities and discrimination. I argue, with Dening and others, that the past can only be known in and through the present. I further argue that contemporary commemorations of historic cross-cultural encounters are in themselves cross-cultural encounters, which demonstrate continuity with the events they commemorate through the persistence of their underlying scenarios.

This thesis proposes the concept of the 'scenario of encounter' as a way of understanding the relationships between contemporary commemorations and the historic encounters which they reference and re-activate in different places. I focus on the cross-cultural encounters that took place at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa Poverty Bay, Aotearoa New Zealand from 8 to 11 October 1769, and subsequent commemorations both there and in London. In Chapter 2, I examine the events of October 1769 through the Western archive and explore its limits, applying a performance analysis lens. Chapter 3 analyses how those events have been commemorated at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa subsequently, following forms of a scenario of encounter through the twentieth century and beyond, as well as challenges to it. Chapter 4 looks at the commemorative exhibitions and associated events that took place in London in 2018, the 250th anniversary of the *Endeavour's* departure from England. These exhibitions and events cover a variety of forms that narratives can take, while the scenario of encounter appears to endure as a persistent framing from the original events. Chapter 5 interrogates Lala Rolls' feature documentary film *Tupaia's Endeavour*, showing ways that a scenario may both respond to and transform places. The common threads and perspectives

drawn from the juxtaposition of these case studies are then considered in the concluding Chapter 6.

Chapter 2. The Endeavours at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa

To separate the historian from the history … is to dismiss the dancer, then call for the dance to come back.

Daisy Hildyard, *Hunters in the Snow*, 2013.

2.1. Introduction

In this Chapter, I focus on the first contacts between Māori and the Endeavours at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, Te Ika-a-Maui, Aotearoa New Zealand from the 8 to 11 October 1769. Others have related histories of Cook's arrival from a European perspective,[1] from 'both sides of the beach' by drawing on a variety of European and Māori sources,[2] or from the perspective of Tāngata Whenua.[3] Here, I bring a critical approach to the textual records that we have of the events in the original *Endeavour* sources and subsequent histories that draw on them. My approach is shaped by the wider argument of the thesis, set out in Chapter 1, emphasising the role of archiving performance in the making of history, a process which begins even as the events unfold. In this approach, history is a creation of narratives to make sense of experience; it is a process of creating meaning. When complex bodily experiences are transformed into narrative form, they are greatly simplified and much is lost. Such experiences include spatial relationships and the sense of place, underlining one of the purposes and impacts of my field visit to Turanganui-a-Kiwa. Being there enabled me

[1] For example, John C. Beaglehole, Richard Hough, and Alan Villiers.
[2] Notably Greg Dening, Anne Salmond, and Nicholas Thomas.
[3] Examples include Halbert, R. (2012). *Horouta: The History of the Horouta Canoe, Gisborne and East Coast*. Auckland: Oratia Books; https://www.tupapa.nz/ which hosts some oral histories of Tūranga iwi; and testimonies to the Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal, see Waitangi Tribunal Report 2004 *Turanganui a Kiwa Claims* Volume I Wai814(1) and Volume II Wai814(2). Wellington: Legislation Direct.

to experience the challenges of reducing complex spatial relationships and senses of place into narrative. In the following critical analysis of the text, I draw on two types of experience from my field visit. The first is my experience of orientation, spatial relationships, and scale at the sites of encounter; the narrow strips of land in which they took place, the width and landscape significance of the river, the occasions of difficult seas. The second is the intense physical and emotional experience of the pōwhiri at Muriwae marae; the way such intensity shrunk my spatial awareness to the immediate areas of the marae itself, the acute awareness of being among a small number of visitors to a much larger community, the weapon handling and wero (challenge), the unfamiliar language and protocols, and the transformation from 'stranger' to 'friend'.

The overall effect of these two distinct types of experience is an intensification of the sense of challenge in rendering such moments into a narrative form. Even the first cannot be easily or fully rendered into map form, far less integrated into a narrative description. Saying or showing that something took place on this or that side of the river wants the experience of the width of the river, the strength of its flow, the variable currents and eddies at different states of the tide as it meets the sea. In the face of such challenges, my tendency while in the field was to rest on convention and habit, to sketch a map, to say to myself as I walked through the events, they landed here, they crossed here, then they walked there, then they heard the gunfire, and so on. Being there is different from its narrative description. What we can read back from the Endeavours' narratives may be enhanced to some extent by walking in their footsteps. But mainly what I read back in them is that so much of their experience is missing. In its place is narrative framed by convention and prior experience; history conceived for anticipated readers. Following the work of Diana Taylor, my approach explores how such histories are formed and framed within scenarios,

which constrain and define the narrative possibilities. A dominant feature of the scenario of encounter explored in this thesis is the imposition of power using both archive and repertoire working together, through the imposition of contact, the suppression of dissonance, and the presumption of forms of resolution.

Starting with the accounts of the *Endeavour* authors, section 2.2 explains how their experiences at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa were formed and framed by such a scenario of encounter. I discuss how the scenario, as revealed in their narratives, imposed a certain model of contact, suppressed dissonance, and presumed a form of resolution. I examine the cultural and social influences surrounding the Endeavours and give examples of impacts on the written records. Section 2.3 considers performative elements of the scenario of encounter that can be drawn out of the Endeavours' written records to demonstrate that the scenario persists in embodied, behavioural forms too; that these "repertoires" also perform "acts of transfer" of knowledge in entangled relationships with the written archive. In section 2.4, I examine the persistence of narrative elements in the accounts, and in 2.5, I trace aspects of a scenario of encounter in the work of subsequent historians through to the present. I conclude with a summary of the principal issues raised by the chapter.

2.2. The *Endeavour*'s First Historians

In this section, I examine the biographical and cultural contexts in which the first histories of events at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa in October 1769 were written, and how these contexts shaped their authors' contemporaneous perspective. The *Endeavour* texts also reveal the authors' retrospective construction of narrative, some influenced by their expectations of their future readers. I examine the sources synchronously, reading records inter-textually, to

reveal relationships between them and aspects of the social nature of such histories at a personal as well as a cultural level.

Identifying the exact number of *Endeavour* texts and authors is more complex than it may at first appear. What counts as an individual text? The archives include perfunctory logs, many of which are copied from each other. There are more extensive journals, but also fragments of drafts of the same journals, fragments of a lost journal,[4] references to a journal that may never have existed,[5] as well as fair copies of known journals made by clerks and others. There are also letters, which may be on quite specific subjects.[6] Solander produced a 'Slip Catalogue' of specimens that Harriet Parsons has recently used very productively alongside other *Endeavour* texts and images.[7] Vocabularies were collected by several of the Endeavours, including William Monkhouse.[8] Beaglehole identified 38 *Endeavour* texts, including logs and journals in different versions, fragments, and a small number of publications thereof.[9] For the purpose of this chapter, which looks at these texts for information about the events at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa over four days, I have chosen to examine a slightly different set of texts from Beaglehole's. There is overlap between the two lists, but I have omitted some logs and journals and added letters as a category of interest. I have chosen texts that cover the four-day period, but not only those that describe the

[4] Possibly that of Jonathan Monkhouse, see Beaglehole 1955: ccxxxvii.
[5] Daniel Solander, see Beaglehole 1955: ccxlii.
[6] Such as the anonymous letter addressed by a correspondent "to his friend in the country," published in the *General Evening Post*, July 27, 1771.
[7] Parsons, Harriet. (2018) Collaborative Drawing on Captain Cook's *Endeavour*: An Intellectual History of Artistic Practice. PhD thesis, University of Melbourne.
[8] Otaheite Words from Mr Monkhouse. SOAS University of London MS 12153. Available digitally at: https://digital.soas.ac.uk/LOAA000108/00002
[9] I have chosen to refer to one painting, now attributed to Tupaia, and which may have been created at Ūawa Tolaga Bay, showing an exchange of a crayfish and some cloth between a high-status Māori man and one of the Endeavours. The letter from Joseph Banks indicating that Tupaia is the artist also identifies Banks as one of the figures. Sir Joseph Banks, Letter to Dawson Turner FRS, 1812, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Banks Collection, MS82. Banks' biographer Harold B. Carter told Anne Salmond about the letter, which she referred to in her 2003 book *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog*.

events that I am interested in, because where the dates are covered but information is omitted, this absence can itself be noteworthy. I have, then, identified 15 relevant texts, associated with a total of 19 *Endeavour* authors. Thirteen of the authors were members of the *Endeavour's* crew,[10] and four were members of Banks' scientific party.[11] Two remain anonymous: the authors of one journal and one letter.[12] Reflecting the weaknesses of any archive of historical sources, there are glimpses of other accounts or letters describing the events at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa that have not survived, as suggested by the extant fragments, incomplete manuscripts, and references to Solander that Beaglehole described. Some of the authors produced both logs and journals. Some journals have multiple versions, especially Cook's. Some surviving accounts only cover part of the voyage (Parkinson, Monkhouse) and one is missing significant pages (the anonymous journal). Even in the sources believed to have survived in some sense 'complete,' there are remarkable silences about Tūranganui-a-Kiwa (including the anonymous letter and Magra's journal).[13] One of the most remarkable silences, at the scale of an elephant in the room, is that the Endeavours do not describe themselves as they describe the Indigenous peoples that they encountered. As an example, consider the detailed description by Monkhouse, and the shorter description by Banks, of rangatira Te Maro (Ngāti Oneone). Nowhere in these texts is there such a detailed description of the Endeavours themselves. The painting attributed to Tupaia of Banks

[10] John Bootie, Midshipman; Charles Clerke, AB, then Master's Mate, then Lieutenant; James Cook, 1st Lieutenant; Stephen Forwood, Gunner; John Gore, 3rd then 2nd Lieutenant; Zachary Hickes, 2nd Lieutenant; James Magra, AB then Midshipman; Robert Molyneux, Master; Jonathan Munkhouse, Midshipman; William B. Monkhouse, Surgeon; William Perry, Surgeon's Mate then Surgeon; Richard Pickersgill, Master's Mate; and Frances Wilkinson, AB then Master's Mate.

[11] Joseph Banks, naturalist; Charles Green, astronomer; Sydney Parkinson, natural history artist; James Roberts, Joseph Banks's servant; and Daniel Solander, naturalist.

[12] The letter "to his friend in the country".

[13] A journal was published in 1771 without Admiralty approval shortly after the *Endeavour* returned to England. This has subsequently been attributed to James Magra (also known later as Matra), notably by Beaglehole, (1955: cclvi). Anonymous [Magra, J.] (1771). *A Journal of a Voyage Round the World*. London: Beckett and de Hondi.

exchanging a crayfish and tapa (bark cloth) with an unidentified Māori is a remarkable exception. It is relatively easy to suggest that this is because the Endeavours were focused on the novelty of the Indigenous Others that they encountered. However, their selective view, or gaze, reflects a profound absence noted by Dening: that Westerners wrote ethnographies of Indigenous Others and histories of themselves, but not histories of Indigenous Others nor ethnographies of themselves (Dening 1995).

Figure 2.1. Māori trading a crayfish with Joseph Banks by Tupaia. Drawings illustrative of Captain Cook's first voyage, 1768 -1770, chiefly relating to Otaheite and New Zealand, by A. Buchan, John F. Miller, and others. Add MS 15508, f.12.

The events discussed in this chapter took place at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa from 8 to 11 October 1769. They were experienced by people from at least four different cultures.[14] The Western histories that have been made of them started with the Endeavours who were there and experienced the events first- or second-hand. The scenario within which those events unfolded, however, was shaped before they took place, even if the individuals involved, Māori, Tahitian, and European, had never met before. The direct and indirect prior experience that the Endeavours brought with them affected what they saw, how they reacted to what they saw, and how they made their memories and their histories. In these encounter events, the people re-performed elements of previous encounters, manifesting a tension between the new and the familiar. As Balme puts it: "First encounter or contact situations are located in a liminal space between *imprévu* and *déjà vu*, between wonder and recognition" (Balme 2006: 19). The familiar was considered so because of their previous direct experiences – the performances they had witnessed or acted in – and indirect experiences – those of others that had been reperformed through storytelling, gossip, and conversation, or archived in books, journals, and newspapers. The persistence of the scenario of encounter in their minds and in their behaviours was facilitated by their direct or indirect knowledge of what Taylor calls the archive or the repertoire, and sometimes by both. As Vanessa Agnew puts it:

> journal sources, travel accounts, and paintings show that the voyagers invoked earlier models and were thus engaged in a form of re-enactment … Cook and his fellow voyagers were not entering a discursive tabula rasa at all. They staged their 'first discoveries' according to classical topi: Polynesian islands were constructed as an Arcadian paradise, indigenous peoples given Greek names, and their dress, appearance and behaviour depicted along classical lines (Agnew 2004: 332).

[14] Māori, Tahitian, British, and Swedish, and one could add American, although I acknowledge that this is a mixture of national and cultural labels that were either not well-defined or not in use at the time.

The *Endeavour* sources must therefore be examined critically to understand what it is we might see in them. For Dening, such critical analysis is necessary because of the way all human experience is transformed into memory and history. “Our experiential world is all interpretation in the moment-after of its stimulus. These stimuli – these sights and sounds and feelings – are gone and we are left with a memory instantly made, a meaning constructed of them, a sign of them caught in some artefact.” Our pasts suffuse our presents in this transformed, translated, interpreted, encapsulated way. Which is not to say that History is everything; History is that part of experience “which is transformed into texts – texts written down, texts spoken, texts caught in the forms of material things ... History is just personal memory unless it is … made artefact, external, social, cultural” (Dening 1995: 13-14).

The processes of making memory into artefact are not simple; the records of the *Endeavour* voyage do not provide unmediated access to the moment of encounter. What the Endeavours wrote was not a transparent description of the events they experienced on the spot. Indeed, they were often not even first-hand accounts. For Stuart Murray, this lack of transparency is a consequence of the character of expedition writing as a practice, rather than a question of individual perception or language. Expedition writing takes place in context, in this case a “deeply important” voyage “in the history of exploration as a process of empirical enquiry” (Murray 2004: 61). The writers were wrestling with narrative forms and negotiating their expectations of their readers, especially as regards entertainment or judgement, while also seeking to create a sense of order, objectivity, and structure. Such qualities had been expected from voyagers for 200 years, as Bernard Smith notes: “by 1588 British explorers were already being advised in their official instructions to keep daily diaries,” and the Royal Society had issued a set of “Directions for Seamen bound for far

voyages," to enhance the value of their records (Smith and Smith 1985: 8). These various influences are apparent on the pages of the logs, where the lines and columns for hourly observations are juxtaposed with narrative passages of varying length, almost visibly straining against the lines (see figure 2.2). This is one physical manifestation of an underlying issue apparent in the accounts. "The writing itself," Murray tells us "emerges as often fractured and deeply ambiguous about the possibility of conveying any representational truths, and the desire on the part of the journal keepers to be descriptive reveals time and time again the limits of language at the moment of culture contact" (Murray 2004: 62).

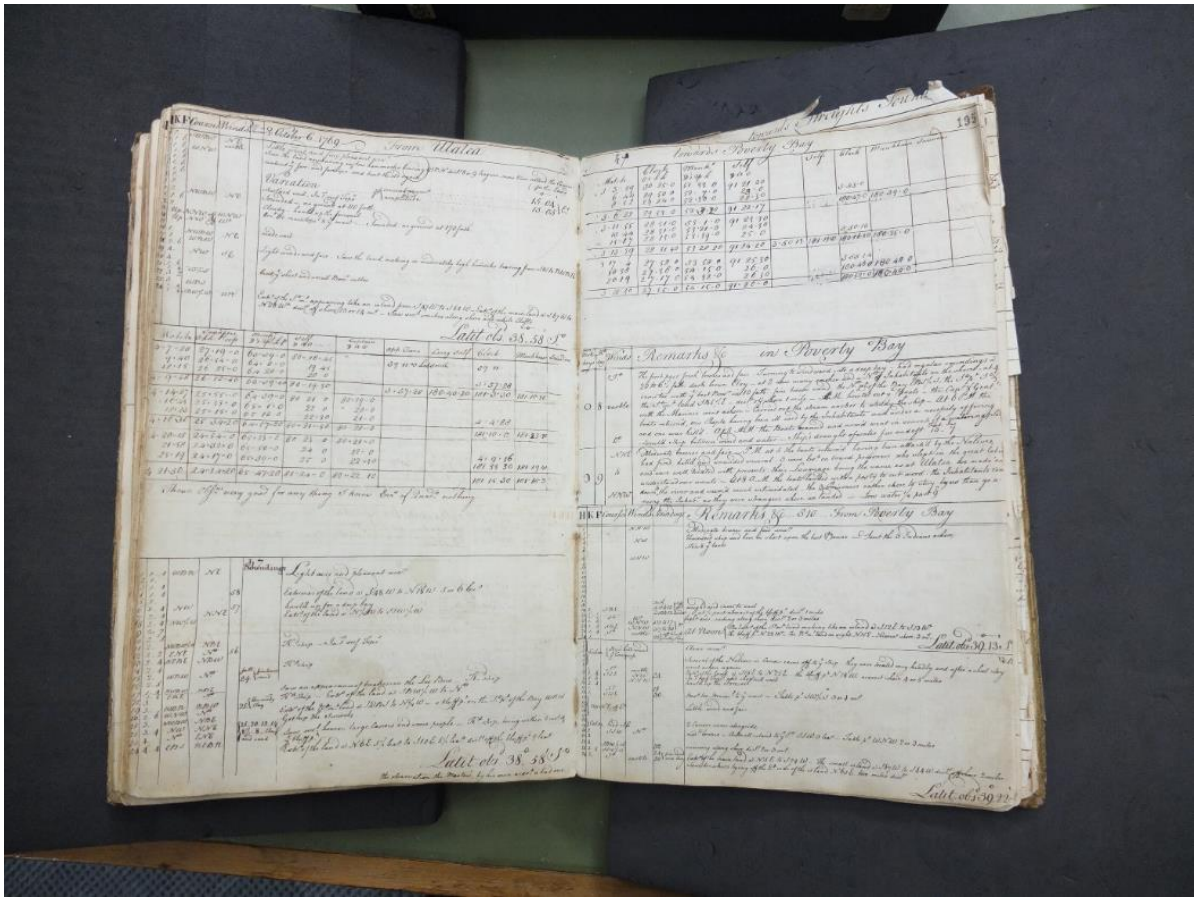

Figure 2.2. Entry from the journal of Charles Green for October 6 1769. Green ADM 51/4545/133 ff194-5. Photograph by the author.

Following Dening, I argue that the contemporaneous histories of the events at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa were subject to many of the same types of influences, and the same types of limitations, as subsequent accounts, although the specific influences and limitations clearly changed and were contingent on their place and time. What Banks, Cook, or Parkinson experienced in one moment was transformed into memory in the next, then into text, and later into revised text. The structured recording systems typified by hourly observations, together with the demands of historical and ethnographic writing, find their limits in the authors' attempts to interpret their experience of encounter. The reduction of complexity, including the collapse of time, is one of their responses to these limits; the borrowing of summaries from shipmates is another. From the inclusion of complex oral performances into the journals of those who did not witness them, we must conclude that performance too is an integral part of that transformation of experience into history, through dictation, conversation, dialogue, and questions.[15] The wero and the killing of Te Maro featured as the significant event of the first landing, yet most of those who wrote about it did not witness it first-hand. How was the drama of those events communicated to them by those who did? Once the Endeavours' texts were written, losing much of the human experience in the process, every subsequent drawing from, or reference to them by later historians and commentators, has transformed them still further into new histories, contingent on each new context, and in the glaring absence of the richer detail of direct experience.

Most of the nineteen *Endeavour* authors I refer to were born in England, often London or Yorkshire. Of the others, Parkinson was born in Scotland, Solander in Sweden, and Gore

[15] Harriet Parsons notes from differences in spelling that Pickersgill may have dictated his entries to others, Parsons 2018: 24.

and Magra in North America. They came from a wide variety of social backgrounds, ranging from the exceptionally privileged Banks, to Forwood, the ship's gunner from Kent, to ordinary seamen or boy servants such as Nicholas Young, about whom we know almost nothing. That said, within the strict hierarchy of authority, relationships emerged from the unusual degree of close-quarters contact and shared experience.[16] Of the seventeen named authors, Gore, Molyneux, Pickersgill and Wilkinson had previously sailed to the Pacific with Wallis on the *Dolphin* and *Swallow* voyage, which was the first British expedition to visit Tahiti. Indeed, Gore had also previously sailed with Byron on the *Dolphin,* as had Clerke, who had also spent time in the Caribbean. Banks had held the role of naturalist with Captain Phipps in Labrador and Newfoundland in 1766. Green the astronomer had been posted to the Caribbean. Cook had spent most of the Seven Years War in North American waters.[17]

The Endeavours' narratives clearly bear the traces of this prior experience as well as the social life of the ship. It is evident in the texts, for example, that their descriptions of meetings with Māori were infused with prior experience. Their accounts reflected assumptions drawn from various kinds of encounter with other Indigenous peoples before the *Endeavour* reached Aotearoa New Zealand, whether face to face, through their shipmates, or in written accounts. The words they used for the Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand, whom they had never encountered before October 1769, reflect this. One example is the use of the term 'Indians' by several authors. Also, Monkhouse, in referring to the houses and built structures, refers to 'wigwams' or 'wigwam construction'.

[16] See for example Rediker, M., (1989). *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: merchant seamen, pirates and the Anglo-American maritime world, 1700-1750.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
[17] Biographical sources: *Australian Dictionary of Biography* for Matra (Magra) and Parkinson; *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* for Clerke; *Oxford Dictionary of Biography* for Banks, Cook, Gore, Green and Solander; Forwood, *Cook's Log* 40 (3): 47; information on Molyneux, Pickersgill and Wilkinson was drawn from the Captain Cook Society website.

Their accounts were also shaped by their prior experience of domestic landscapes with which they were familiar. Thus, the high paling observed as the ship approached Tūranganui-a-Kiwa was interpreted through a British lens: "most are of opinion or say at least that it must or shall be either [a] park of Deer or a feild of oxen and sheep."[18] Nor was this necessarily unique to the British. According to Salmond, Tupaia believed the paling structure was a marae (Salmond 1991: 123), reflecting his familiarity with the inhabited landscapes of Ra'iātea, Tahiti and other nearby islands. Monkhouse also refers to his experience of Tahiti, noting "a ground oven in the Otaheite style"[19] among the sights he recorded during the party's inspection of the Māori settlement during their first landing.

The authors' prior experiences of the *Endeavour* voyage also led them to make further assumptions that affected what they saw. As Jonathan Lamb has noted: "The difficulties of producing probable narratives of Pacific discovery arose from … the assumptions with which the eyewitness began his account" (Lamb 2004: 4). The ship had been out of sight of land for almost two months as it approached Te Tairāwhiti (the East coast), Aotearoa New Zealand. Signs of land were being spotted daily in the waters it sailed through. So great was the expectation that:

> At [half] past one a small boy who was at the mast head Calld out Land. I was luckyly upon deck and well I was entertaind, within a few minutes the cry circulated and up came all hands, this land could not then be seen even from the tops yet few were there who did not plainly see it from the deck till it appeard that they had lookd at least 5 points wrong.[20]

The power of expectation in building assumptions and distorting attention may be attributed to expectation as well as experience. One objective of the *Endeavour's* mission

[18] Banks 8 October 1769.
[19] Monkhouse in Beaglehole 1955: 565.
[20] Banks 6 October 1769.

was to search for the supposed *Terra Australis Incognita*. The *Endeavour* sources suggest little evidence but clearly great expectation:

> [a]t sunset all hands at the mast head; Land still distant 7 or 8 leagues, appears larger than ever, in many parts 3, 4 and 5 ranges of hills are seen one over the other and a chain of Mountains over all, some of which appear enormously high. Much difference of opinion and many conjectures about Islands, rivers, inlets &c, but all hands seem to agree that this is certainly the Continent we are in search of.[21]

Yet their months-long circumnavigation was to prove that this was not the case.

The social context of a ship's company is also important in understanding what these authors brought to their eyewitness accounts as a result of their interaction on board ship. Green, for example, spent much time teaching navigation to several of his shipmates, including Pickersgill and Clerke, as well as English to Tupaia and Taiato. Cook was able to bring with him to the *Endeavour* five men from his time in North America: Peter Flower, Thomas Hardman, William Howson, John Charlton, and Isaac Smith.[22] Some of the *Endeavour* authors appear to have had close relationships with others on board. Historians have noted the relationships between different accounts – Glyndwr Williams points to similarities between the texts of Green and Hickes; Hickes and Bootie; Green, Bootie, Forwood and Wilkinson; and Forwood and Pickersgill. "Such copying," he argues, "was a routine shipboard activity" (Williams 2004: 65). To give just one brief example, in their entries for the 8 to 11 October 1769, Green and Hickes use identical phrases:

> At 8 A.M. the Boats mann'd and arm'd went in search of a watering place – Scrub'd Ship between wind and water- Ship's draught of water fore and aft 13 Fath 7 Inc[23]

[21] Banks 7 October 1769.
[22] Beaglehole (1955: cxxxiv).
[23] Green TNA ADM 51/4545/151.

> At 8 AM the boats Man'd and Arm'd went in Search of a watering Place scrub.d ship between Wind and Water Ships Draught of Water Fore and Aft 13 F : 7 In.[24]

Bootie's is very similar too:

> At 8AM the Boats mannd & Armd as before went on shore in search of a watering place Scrubd ship between wind and water Ships draught of water Fore & Aft 13 F 7 I[25]

It is also important to consider the influence of authors' prior reading, including printed works on board ship, on both their experiences and how they transformed them into writing. For example, in describing Te Maro's korowai (cloak) as they inspected his still-warm, dead body, Banks says that "it was tied on exactly as represented in Mr Dalrymple's book".[26] The *Endeavour* carried a substantial library of books and maps, the evidence for which Denis Carr has explored. Many of these were works of navigation and cartography, botany and ornithology; some were proto-anthropological, such as De Brosse's *Histoires des navigations*, which both Banks and Cook refer to in their journals (Carr 1983: 200). The written and graphic depictions of Indigenous peoples, as Bernard Smith has shown (1985), were shaped by prior assumptions from their prior reading, including a variety of classical, literary, and artistic images and texts. The artist Sydney Parkinson's list of books on board the *Endeavour* included "Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty*, collections of the poems of Virgil, Chaucer, Ossian, Pope, Gay, Dryden, Spenser and Akenside […] Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the works of Shakespeare, Don Quixote …" (Carr 1983: 196). One final record of prior experience it is worth drawing attention to is Abel Tasman's experience

[24] Hickes TNA ADM 51/4546/147-8.
[25] Bootie TNA ADM 51/4546/134-5.
[26] This is probably *Voyages in the South Pacific Ocean* which Banks had been given by the hydrographer Alexander Dalrymple. For at least some of the authors, printed texts may also have played a part in creating assumptions. Dalrymple was a firm believer in the undiscovered continent, which so affected 'all hands'. Dalrymple, A. (1770, 1771). *An Historical collection of the several voyages and discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean.* London: Printed for the author, and sold by J. Nourse, T. Payne, and P. Elmsley.

of his encounter with Māori at a place he called Murderers' Bay. Māori controlled that encounter. They used speed and surprise to ram a boat and killed four of Tasman's sailors (Mein Smith 2012: 24). It is difficult to believe that Cook was not aware of this incident before he made landfall at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa.

These examples illustrate how some of the ways that the *Endeavours* saw and experienced the land and people of Aotearoa were shaped by their prior experience, perpetuated in memory through text, image, and conversation – both archive and repertoire working together, in Taylor's terms. Moreover, the histories they wrote were also affected by their expectations about the future reading of their narratives. Their texts are thus entangled in an anticipated future as well as in past memory. Apart from Cook and Banks, who, I conclude, expected their readership to be attentive to their writing,[27] other authors also show signs of having been keenly aware of their potential audience. "Green's elaborate calligraphy suggests that he expected his journal to be read."[28] What remains of Monkhouse's journal is full of precise language and greater detail than others, and Beaglehole notes that it was probably a transcript intended for publication (1955: ccxxxi). It has a strong narrative structure and style and has clearly been rewritten retrospectively, at least in places.

> The ice was broke, and we had in a moment six or eight more over with us all armed, except the first visitor, with short lances[29] – a kind of weapon we took for a paddle[30] – and a short hand weapon which was fastened by a string round the

[27] Beaglehole suggests that Cook was not mindful of a wide public readership until after this first voyage: "on the first voyage it seemed that he had no idea, and could have no idea, that he might be writing for a large public" (1955: cxciii). Nonetheless, the careful amendments he made to various drafts show that Cook clearly anticipates his audiences, even if they were limited to the Admiralty and the Royal Society.
[28] Parsons 2018: 40.
[29] "The ordinary fighting spear or tao," (Beaglehole 1955: 567).
[30] "Probably the pouwhenua, a weapon about as long as a taiaha (cf p. 200, n.3 above); one end came to a blunt point, the other was rounded and had a wide flat surface," (Beaglehole 1955: 567).

> wrist, was about 18 inches long, had a rounded handle and thence formed into a flat elliptic shape: this weapon, we afterwards learnt, was called Pattoo."[31]

The later knowledge of the patu has been integrated into the narrative at a point when Monkhouse did not yet know what it was called.

2.3. Performing Scenarios of Encounter

The texts thus reveal several ways in which they and their authors were entangled with past and future as they composed in their eighteenth-century present. A central aspect of the archives created by the Endeavours, particularly those of the officers and gentlemen, was their documentation of the performance of encounter. Taylor has shown the importance of the relationships between archive and repertoire in the "scenario of discovery" through the example of records of Columbus' encounters in the Americas. "Performing the act of possession makes the claim; the witnessing and writing down legitimates it. The letters and journals assure the reputation of the colonizer, not just in the eyes of the King and Queen but for generations to come" (Taylor 2003: 62).[32] In the case of the Endeavours, it is not only the performed acts of possession that needed to be witnessed and written down. The Earl of Morton's *Hints* also had a clear effect on the witnessing and the archiving of the performances. Cook was at great pains to justify his use of lethal violence in the encounters at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa. His justification of self-defence, constructed on the pages of his journals, is also evident across the pages of the other *Endeavour* authors. Their attempts to offer gifts, to trade and exchange in these early encounters were also carefully noted. For example, Monkhouse notes that, during their exploration of the settlement while the wero

[31] Monkhouse in Beaglehole 1955: 567.
[32] See also Seed, Patricia. (1995) *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

was unfolding elsewhere, “our first suggestions led us to consider this little object with a religious eye, and of course it was replaced with great care and ornamented with some beads and nails.”[33] During the second landing, Cook notes that “we made every one of them presents”.[34] Taylor recognises the way that the complexities of embodied performances are collapsed into narratives, and the way bodies and voices are disappeared selectively in the process. In creating a justification of self-defence, we can see how the Endeavours created narratives that both effaced the complexity and uncertainty in the encounters they initiated and attempted to diminish their own aggression as the events unfolded.

In *Pacific Performances*, Christopher Balme explores the theatricality of cross-cultural encounter. In doing so, he distinguishes between Cook’s behaviour towards Indigenous peoples and that of his predecessors, such as Tasman. While Tasman used trumpets and hornpipes with widely differing results, “Cook preferred canon fire and skyrockets to impress on the islanders a mixture of fear and awe”(Balme 2006: 20). Although Balme describes his use of this technology as practising “performative reciprocity” in response to Tahitian heiva (performances), this was also a calculated show of superiority. Cook pairs the terms “astonished and entertained,” as well as “entertained and frightened,” in his description of his firework displays. Later, in Hawai‘i, his intention is even more clearly expressed: “Nothing could effectually excite the admiration of these islanders, or strike them with more exalted ideas of our superiority, than such a representation” (Balme 2006: 24).

Cook clearly describes these encounters as performances. It is less clear whether he saw encounters at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa as performances too, or whether he had a sense of

[33] Monkhouse in Beaglehole: 565.
[34] Cook October 1769.

their performativity. The laying of beads on the religious artefact, noted above, suggests that to some extent he did, as does his crossing of the river to Te Toka-a-Taio (the island in the middle of the Tūranga River). Given the purposes of the voyage, especially as expressed in Morton's *Hints*, the way these performances were recorded needed great care. The justifications of self-defence were created in the writing, in the Endeavours' history making. The violence was not inevitable, despite the confusion and mutual incomprehension. At Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, Cook's responses to the performances he witnessed were far less clearly formulated than the fireworks in Tahiti and Hawai'i to which Balme refers, where it is clear he responded to events he recognised as performances with performances. However, at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, he does not appear to have understood the grammar of contact and encounter before him. Instead, with unknown social parameters, his responses were intended to curtail possibility and to impose control. The opportunities for encounters with difference were thus constrained, despite his experiences in Tahiti which seem to give clear precedents.

Prior to arriving in Aotearoa New Zealand, the *Endeavour* had visited several of the Society Islands. One example will illustrate the first-hand experiences that were relevant to their October encounter with Māori.

> … I went a Shore, accompined by M^{r} Banks, D^{r} Solander and D^{r} Munkhouse, T~~obia~~^{upia}, the King of the Island and some other of the Natives who had been on board since the Morning. The Moment we landed T~~obia~~^{upia} striped him self as low as his waist and disired M^{r} Munkhouse to do the same, he then sat down before a great number of the natives that were collected together in a large Shade or house, the rest of us by his own desire standing behind; he then begun a long speach or prayer which lasted near a 1/4 of an hour and in the course of this Speach presented to the people two handkerchiefs, a black silk neckcloth, some beads and two very small bunches of feathers, these things he had before provided for this purpose, at the same time two Chiefs spoke on the other side in answer to T~~obia~~^{upia} as I suppose in behalf of the people and presented us with

> some young Plantains Plants and two small bunches of feathers these were by T~~obia~~upia order'd to be carried on board the Ship, after the Peace was thus concluded and ratified every one was at Liberty to go where he pleased…[35]

According to this account, Tupaia is clearly leading the performance of significant rituals, prepared in advance, and Cook appreciates that at least one outcome was the conclusion and ratification of peace. And yet, when the *Endeavour* party first landed at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, without Tupaia, Cook's records offer no suggestion that he anticipated or saw the need for a comparable performance to secure peace:

> I went a shore with a party of men in the Pinnace and yawl accompaned by M^r^ Banks and D^r^ Solander. We land[ed] abreast of the Ship and on the east side of the river just mentioned. but seeing some of the natives on the other side of the river whome I was desirous of speaking with and finding that we could not ford the river I order'd the yawl in to carry us over and the Pinnace to lay at the entrance, In the mean time the Indians made off; however we went as far as their hutts which lay about 2 or 3 hundred yards from the water side…"[36]

Having clearly seen a ceremonial performance in Huahine which created the conditions for a visitor to "go where he pleased," Cook walked hundreds of yards and closely examined an obviously inhabited settlement. What happened while he and the gentlemen were doing so was made known to him later by the unnamed Coxswain, according to Monkhouse. Cook records the incident like this:

> …leaving four boys to take care of the yaw^l^,[…] we had no sooner left than four men came out of the woods on the other side the river and would certainly have cut ^her^ off ~~the yawl~~ had not the people in the pinnace discover'd them and called to her to drop down the stream which they did being closely pursued by the Indians; the Coxswain of the pinnace who had the charge of the Boats, seeing this fire'd two musquets over their heads, the first made them stop and look round them, but the 2^d^ they took no notice of~~f~~ upon which a third was fired and killed one of them upon the spot just as he was going to dart his spear at the boat; at this the other three stood motionless for a minute or two, seemingly quite

[35] Cook 17 July 1769.
[36] Cook 9 October 1769.

> surprised wondering no doubt what it was that had thus killed their commorade: but as soon as they recover'd themselves they made off draging the dead body a little way and then left it.[37]

Anne Salmond has subsequently interpreted this approach by Māori as a wero.

> In traditional times one form of ceremonial challenge was to send a warrior to throw a spear towards an approaching stranger group, although in recent times this has been muted to a display of weapon handling. The Europeans did not know this, however, and their response was swift and lethal (Salmond 1991: 125).

That such a challenge, if that was what it was, should be faced by four boys with only the distant support of a second boat's crew and a Coxswain was likely to have unpredictable results. A significant factor was surely the absence of the expedition's leader, Cook, and of the only person on board with the possibility of 'local' knowledge, Tupaia. In his own narrative of these events, Banks integrates later knowledge into what is supposed to be a contemporaneous account:

> while we were absent 4 of them attackd our small boat in which were only 4 boys, they got off from the shore in a river, the people followd them and threatned with long lances; the pinnace soon came to their assistance, fird upon them and killd the cheif. The other three draggd the body about 100 yards and left it. At the report of the musquets we drew together and went to the place where the body was left; he was shot through the heart.[38]

We are told by Monkhouse that this version of events was related by the Coxswain, meaning that Banks could only have known it after they had returned to the river. Furthermore, he states that it was the Chief that was shot. The earliest that he might have concluded that the dead man was a chief, however he understood the term, was on examination of Te Maro's body. Yet he has constructed a narrative by re-ordering his experiences to create a chronological sequence of events rather than recording a chronological sequence of his experience. Cook and Monkhouse, neither of whom were

[37] *Ibid.*
[38] Banks 8 October 1769.

present during the killing either, also re-ordered their experiences in the composition of their narratives, adding telling details. For example, in Cook's description of the Indigenous response to the shooting he wrote that the Māori were "seemingly quite surprised wondering no doubt what it was that had thus killed their commorade".[39] This is clearly speculation on his part, and still would be even if he had actually witnessed the events himself.

In this first violent incident at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa then, when the performative exchanges began, Cook was elsewhere, and we only have several second-hand versions of the Coxswain's account of what happened. In these, the self-defence justification is rife; its persistence across the various written versions of the unnamed Coxswain's account suggest that the justification started with him. The justification was further established in the accounts of Banks, Cook, Monkhouse, and Parkinson through the casting of Māori behaviour as threatening. In the shorter logs of those who had remained on board, almost everything is stripped away, leaving the justification as their focus. Pickersgill states that: "At 6 PM the boats returned; the Inhabitants having behaved ill were fired up on and one was killed;"[40] Green tells us that: "At 6 PM the boats return'd, our People having been ill-used by the Inhabitants were under a necessity of firing and one was kill'd;"[41] and Forwood, within his slightly longer entry, writes that:

> At 6 they Returned at their landing they saw 3 Indians who ran into the bushes they went and Examined their Houses which they found to be Built very Low Close and warm & well thatchd In the mean time the 3 Indians Came down & Attacked one of our boats which Obligd them to fire upon them which they took no Notice

[39] Cook 9 October 1769.
[40] Pickersgill TNA ADM 51/142 9 October 1769.
[41] Green TNA ADM 51/4545/151 8 October 1769.

> of till they saw One of their Companions fall the Other two Attempted to Carry him Off but finding him Dead they left him and Made off.[42]

Molyneux's account blends the two separate fatal meetings into one narrative, confusing the details:

> At 7 they returned & Informed us that they Landed near a small river which the Tide flowed into they were soon surrounded by a number of the Inhabitants with their Spears, Darts, & other weapons our People endeavour'd to ingratiate themselves by giving them Presents and offering to Trade for their weapons &c. They greedily snatched every thing offer'd them but would not part with anything at length they endeavour'd to Disarm some of our Party by Force which oblig'd our people to Fire upon them & an Indian who was the chief aggressor was killed on the spot they retired & our People came on board & thus ended our first Interview with the New Zealanders. I should have mentioned that their Language & that of Otaheite was originally the same so that Tobia took a great deal of Pains to explain to them our Amicable Purposes.[43]

During the second landing, which Molyneux confounds here with the first, Tupaia's ability to communicate with Māori offered opportunities to avoid bloodshed that were not acted upon at the point they were revealed. As Cook noted: "T~~obia~~upia told us several times as soon as they came over to take care of our selves for they were not our friends and this we very soon found for one of them snatched M^{r} Greens Hanger from him and would not give it up, this incourage'd the rest to be more insolent..."[44] Banks put it like this:

> Tupia, who now found that the language of the people was so like his own that he could tolerably well understand them and they him. He immediately began to tell them that we wanted provisions and water for which we would give them Iron in exchange: they agreed to the proposal but would by no means lay by their arms which he desird them do: this he lookd upon as a sign of treachery and continualy told us to be upon our guard for they were not our friends.[45]

[42] Forwood TNA ADM 51/4545/133.
[43] Molyneux TNA ADM 55/39.
[44] Cook 9 October 1769.
[45] Banks 9 October 1769.

Immediately afterwards came the incident that led to the second killing, when Mr Green's hanger (short sword) was taken by Te Rakau in a deft manoeuvre. Why was Tupaia's advice not taken? Were Cook and the party convinced that the fatal performance of power demonstrated the previous day would render the Māori passive? According to records of the Coxswain's account of the previous day's events, the firing of weapons itself did not provoke fear in the Māori, nor cause their retreat. They did, however, leave when Te Maro was killed. This might have given the Endeavours the idea that the superiority of their weapons was understood by Māori. However, they did not know that the Māori they were engaging with were not one homogenous group but composed of different iwi and hapū. What members of one group had witnessed on the northeastern side of the river may not have been witnessed by a group that had approached the southwestern side of the river from the south. The Endeavours had learned of the diversity and political conflict in Tahiti between Purea and Amo and their rivals.[46] They had a precedent, and they had repeated warnings from Tupaia. But they did not behave as if they understood either. In the records of this violence, the self-defence justification is asserted throughout.

By the time of the kidnapping and killings in the third violent event, their own eyes had told them that Māori were prepared to stand their ground, even in the face of unknown and vastly superior weapons, demonstrated twice and with mortal consequences for Māori on each occasion. Nonetheless, Cook had determined, he says, to attempt a kidnapping: "I embarked with an intent to row round the head of the Bay in search of fresh water; and if possible to surprise some of the natives and to take them on board and by good treatment

[46] During the visit of *HMS Dolphin*, Purea was identified by the visitors as Queen of Tahiti. She was the wife of a district chief, Amo. At this time Tupaia was described as Purea's high priest and lover (Salmond 2005).

and presents endeavour to gain their friendship."[47] Yet Cook appears to have been surprised, at least on reflection, that Māori chose to fight:

> I am aware that most humane men who have not experienced things of this nature will cencure my conduct in fireing upon the people in this boat nor do I my self think that the reason I had for seizing upon her will att all justify me. and had I thought that they would have made the least resistance I would not have come near them but as they did I was not to stand still and suffer either my self or those that were with me to be knocked on the head.[48]

Did Cook really not expect them to offer "the least resistance"? This entry appears to be strongly shaped by his retrospective concern with justification, clearly anticipating his readership. There is also perhaps evidence of the concern of a commander for the morale and confidence in him of those he leads. During their time in Tahiti, encounters with the inhabitants were at times fractious or violent. Cook's responses provoked discontent among the crew, some of whom considered his policy too lenient on the Tahitians.

Returning to the Endeavours' second landing at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa offers a further opportunity to examine the performance of encounter. During this second landing, a large body of Māori performed a haka across the river from the *Endeavour* party. Rather than using his marines in a reciprocal performance of some kind, Cook held them 200 yards behind and ventured alone to Te Toka-a-Taiau, the deeply significant rock in the Tūranganui River.[49] The Māori elder who joined him there responded to Cook's inadvertent use of the powerfully symbolic rock as a stage with a reciprocal performance of peace with a hongi.[50] The exchanges that followed were tricky, but playful. Monkhouse's detailed notes of the events evoke a scene that can initially be seen as humorous:

[47] Cook 9 October 1769.
[48] Cook 10 October 1769.
[49] This was blown up in 1877 for harbour improvements in the newly founded town of Gisborne.
[50] A greeting performed by the touching of noses and foreheads and the sharing of breath.

> But our new visitors kept us now in sufficient employment – Active and alert to the highest degree, overjoyed with the presents they had received, but their desires were by no means sated, they were incessantly upon the catch at every thing they saw – every moment jumping from one foot to the other; and their eyes and hands as quick as those of the most accomplished pickpocket. I happened to be the most forward of our company, and was engaged with three of these young active heroes at one time: this new manoeuvre disconcerted me for a moment, but my situation presently taught me to play the counterpart in these curious gesticulations, added to which, having my bayonet fixt, I was frequently obliged to call this to my aid – on bidding them sit down, one or other would obey for a Moment – to keep them in employment, I offered to barter for a paddle, which he was ready to exchange for my musket, and my refusal drew a reproach from him.[51]

This open-ended and playful exchange was about to tip into violence. Attempts to trade became increasingly chaotic and, as we can see from Monkhouse's account, difficult to control. The pivotal moment was recorded as the daring theft of Mr Green's short sword. The Endeavours now refused in the deadliest terms to continue in the same ludic mood. In the face of uncertainty, and despite being pre-warned by Tupaia, they felt the need to demonstrate their superiority. Several of them fired, and another rangatira, Te Rakau, was killed. Monkhouse's description of this event is the most detailed, and gives a complex account of the events and the degree of confusion:

> While I was thus engaged my friends behind me were not less busied; but one of the natives having expressed a desire to have Mr ----------hanger,[52] to avoid being too much teased Mr ---------- had turned about to retire, which the man no sooner observed than he laid hold of the hanger and tore it away, and, contented with his prize, instantly retreated towards the river. The sufferer snapt his musket then fired a pistol – a charge of small shot was thrown into his back but he continued to make his escape till a musket ball dropt him – two others instantly flew to him, I presented my bayonet thinking they meant to carry off the hanger, but they soon convinced me that it was a green stone pattoo they only wanted, which one of them tore from his wrist and retreated, while the other endeavoured to keep me at bay. Matters were now in great confusion – the natives retiring across the river

[51] Beaglehole (1955: 567).
[52] In both spaces in this paragraph read 'Green'.

> with the utmost precipitation, and some of our party unacquainted with the true state of things begun to fire upon them by which two or three were wounded – but this was put a stop to as soon as possible.[53]

This account suggests a scene of confusion, and Monkhouse does not explain how Te Rakau received a fatal shot. In contrast, Banks gives a succinct explanation of the decision to respond with lethal violence, and of who was perhaps most responsible for Te Rakau's death:

> After some time Mr Green in turning himself about exposd his hanger, one of them immediately snatchd it, set up a cry of exultation and waving it round his head retreated gently. It now appeard nescessary for our safeties that so daring an act should be instantly punishd, this I pronouncd aloud as my opinion, the Captn and the rest Joind me on which I fird my musquet which was loaded with small shot, leveling it between his shoulders who was not 15 yards from me. On the shot striking him he ceasd his cry but instead of quitting his prize continued to wave it over his head retreating as gently as before; the surgeon who was nearer him, seeing this fird a ball at him at which he dropd.[54]

Banks justifies killing Te Rakau because his act was daring, not because the *Endeavour* party was threatened with injury or death. Te Rakau's behaviour, from this and other accounts, was not threatening. By his own account, Banks had decided that shooting was necessary to pacify, not to defend against attack, and he claims that having expressed his opinion, Cook followed. Cook's account asserts that it was he who gave the order to fire. In response to the reaction of other Māori to Te Rakau's "daring act," he wrote, "one of them snatched M^{r} Greens Hanger from him and would not give it up, this incourage'd the rest to be more insolent and seeing others comeing over to join them I order'd the man who had taken the hanger to be fired at: which was accordingly done and ~~he was~~ wounded in such a manner that he died soon after…"[55]

[53] Beaglehole 1955: 567-8.
[54] Banks 9 October 1769.
[55] Cook 9 October 1769.

Yet, as we have seen in the shorter accounts, the narratives of these events were collapsed and simplified, to the same apparent end of justifying the killings as self-defence. One possible motivation is the demonstration of social cohesion amongst the Endeavours. Green had refused to trade his weapon, and the sword was then taken. Others felt that this disarming of one person, who apparently remained under no threat of immediate harm, merited an act of violence in solidarity. This has a broad military purpose too. The Endeavours were faced with a large and effective military force, and the symbolism of the civilian astronomer Green losing his sword had to be matched with the symbolism of violent retribution. If the performance of taking the sword demonstrated an awareness of the Endeavours' weakness, then the performance of lethal violence in response had to demonstrate their strength.

Cook's final landing at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, following the lethal kidnapping of the three boys, did not result in further violence. That it did not, with a body of between 100 and 150 armed Māori and the *Endeavour's* marines facing them across the river, was surely affected by the highly performative gesture of one of the Māori fishermen kidnapped from their canoes. Te Haurangi, the oldest, laid the red jacket that had been given to the boys aboard the *Endeavour*, over Te Rakau's body. During the same exchange, Marukawiti, the youngest, recognised a relation amongst the large group of Māori. This initiated a long conversation in which Tupaia participated. Te Haurangi's gesture is the action of someone with a high degree of awareness of the performative role of such moments, and it had a significant impact on the unfolding of events. Tupaia's role was also crucial in the conversation that followed, clearly demonstrated when Marukawiti's relative passed Te Rakau's body to present Tupaia with a green bough recognised as "a gesture of reconciliation," (Salmond 1991: 134). Māori were repeatedly using performative behaviour in very specific and

deliberate ways, which were apparently not recognised as such, and, with a rare exception, not reciprocated by the Endeavours. Cook's positive, if naïve, performative initiative in reaching Te Toka-a-Taiau, in contrast, was reciprocated, and stands out as a moment of peaceful and promising encounter amongst the confusion and killing.

What Balme recognises in Cook's later voyages as his reciprocal behaviour, and a conscious use of theatrical performance, is almost entirely absent from these moments at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa. What is clear however is the way the incidents:

> are linked by the structural principles of Dening's theatrical grammar of the beach: the moment of dramatic encounter and conflict, the acting out of events of political and cosmological significance. The political significance of such landings from the European perspective is clear. The landing is the moment of implicit or explicit control (Balme 2006: 26).

However, the significance of this event and its theatrical qualities, had yet to be recognised explicitly. The retrospective justifications of violence in the accounts are weak compared with the powerful archiving of performative scenes of beach landings in paintings and engravings that Balme refers to from Cook's later voyages. There are no equivalent images of the landings at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa. Rather, we see evidence of a challenge to the Endeavours' opportunity to supply their needs, and, perhaps more importantly, their related need to assert their cultural and technological superiority. As with some previous examples at Tahiti, Cook struggles to control events; his authority is further weakened by his temporary absences. His performative behaviour at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa was unresponsive to Indigenous performativity, and his understanding of their behaviour is limited. While, according to Balme's analysis, he had learned enough to apply clearer theatrical strategies on his later voyages, the events leading to his death at Kealakekua Bay in Hawai'i show that such familiarity with theatrical grammar does not guarantee success. Taylor recognises such wishful thinking about cross-cultural encounters. Rather, she says, "I propose that we

proceed from that premise – that we do not understand each other – and recognise that each effort in that direction needs to work against notions of easy access, decipherability, and translatability" (Taylor 2003: 15).

A cross-cultural scenario of encounter was being asserted by the Endeavours at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa for the first time. For Taylor, as discussed in Chapter 1, scenarios are "sets of possibilities, ways of conceiving conflict, crisis, or resolution – activated with more or less theatricality" (Taylor 2003: 13). As I have shown above, the impact of the authors' culturally specific imaginaries pervades their texts. The journals often only deal with the complexity of what their authors were encountering by gross simplification and the retrospective creation of narratives. While Murray attributes this to the act of writing itself, Taylor asserts more broadly that "the incongruities that come to light through embodiment are downplayed when scenario is transformed into narrative" (Taylor 2003: 62). Embodied experience is more complex than narrative allows and is further constrained by textual forms. As the *Endeavour* sources show, the complexity of the events unfolding around the writers were often beyond their comprehension. Their brief moments of insight, usually in retrospect, were swamped by the inability to see what was before their eyes, or to listen to what they were hearing, or at least to act on either. Sometimes one can sympathise with their bewilderment; at other times one wonders how they could ignore the lessons of their recent experiences on the voyage, the experience of Tupaia, and the evidence of their own eyes and ears.

In all three violent incidents at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, self-defence was given as a justification in the written accounts, despite evidence in those same accounts that the party was not under immediate threat of lethal attack. It is possible that the longer-term needs of the expedition and of subsequent voyages may have weighed on Cook's mind. Each landfall

manifested the dependence of the ship and its mission on Indigenous people for their safety, fresh water, food, and firewood. After almost two months at sea before reaching Aotearoa New Zealand, the *Endeavour* needed supplies. Since Cook decided to leave Tūranganui-a-Kiwa having taken only some firewood and wild birds, we can conclude that the *Endeavour* still had enough for its immediate needs. Yet the underlying dependence on re-supply, and the corresponding underlying threat to the ship and its mission is clear. The frustration and concern can be read in Cook's decisions between the second and third violent incidents: "Finding that nothing was to be done with the people on this side and the water in the river being salt…"[56] The encounters included numerous performative acts, most by Māori but also by the Endeavours. The Endeavours sought to assert their scenario of encounter through the imposition of contact, their performances of violence in response to their experience of dissonance, to impose their belief in their superiority, and to impose a resolution in friendship. When that failed, they withdrew anyway; something they could have done earlier when it would have saved lives. The histories that they recorded explained their actions through the creation of a justification of self-defence in their historical narratives, deemed necessary to maintain the illusion of their moral superiority.

2.4. Perpetuating the Narrative: Self-Defence?

In this section, I show how subsequent historians perpetuated the self-defence justification, often enhancing it in their own performances of making history. Where they entered the spirit of the Endeavours' narratives, they also perpetuated the scenario of encounter, lending their authority to the dominant version of history, and ensuring the omission of

[56] Cook 9 October 1769.

other voices. Where they challenged the dominant narrative, bringing Māori oral histories alongside or opposite it, there remains the question of whether they were also able to challenge the scenario of encounter.

Many histories have been written based on the *Endeavour* sources. Some were written very soon after the events – before the end of the eighteenth century. Others followed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including seminal texts of detailed scholarship. In our current millennium, there has been further significant interest. In the work of postcolonial anthropologist-historians such as Anne Salmond and Nicholas Thomas such textual sources have been combined with Indigenous narratives recorded in later Western accounts by missionaries, traders, and settlers to tell the histories from 'both sides of the beach'. Land Court records and in more recent years Waitangi Tribunal reports have also published Māori histories,[57] and the 250th anniversary of the first *Endeavour* voyage has stimulated yet more Māori history to be told to wider audiences. While these latter sources are often focused on events other than the *Endeavour's* arrival, such as the New Zealand Wars, the subsequent land dispossession, and the preceding history of Polynesian voyaging and settlement, they also include testimonies that describe the events at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa in October 1769. Many Western historians have often uncritically perpetuated and even enhanced the Endeavours' self-defence justification, the aspect of the Endeavours' narratives about the violence enacted at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa on which I focus here. The narratives they create vary to some extent, but the focus on self-defence persists.

Historians are selective in their use of the *Endeavour* sources to create their narratives. Some sources are drawn on for their extensive content, and others are preferred

[57] See for example the Waitangi Tribunal 2004 *Tūranganui a Kiwa Claims* Volumes I and II.

for the status of their authors. Still others are ignored or used selectively, either because they have less information[58] or because they contradict other sources considered to be more reliable.[59] Two early narratives of events at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa were written before the end of the eighteenth century, by John Hawkesworth (1773) and by Andrew Kippis (1788). In the nineteenth century, traders such as Joel Polack travelled widely in New Zealand, and in his 1838 *Narrative of Travels and Adventures*, he draws on past records alongside the oral histories he recorded from those he met – immediate descendants of those present when the *Endeavour* arrived. Archdeacon William Williams, here a representative of the missionary historians, presented his history of the *Visit of Captain Cook to Poverty Bay* to the Auckland Institute in 1888. The twentieth century saw further historical scholarship, and here, James Mackay's 1950 *Historic Poverty Bay*, volume I of Beaglehole's 1955 *Journals of Captain James Cook,* and Anne Salmond's 1991 *Two Worlds* illustrate the field. Since 2000, there have been numerous new monograph publications, including Nicholas Thomas' 2003 *Discoveries*. I focus on the self-defence justification through these historians' treatment of two of the incidents that took place at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa: the killing of Te Maro and the kidnapping of Te Haurangi, Hikirangi, and Marukawiti.

John Hawkesworth (~1720-1773) was a writer and book editor in London who in 1771 received an unprecedented commission worth £6,000[60] from the Lord of the Admiralty, the Earl of Sandwich, to edit and publish in a single work the accounts of the South Seas voyages

[58] Pickersgill and Hickes for example.

[59] Most notably the general tendency to ignore Parkinson's record that Cook claimed New Zealand for the Crown at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa. There are also differences in the number of Māori recorded as having been in the Te Maro party; most of the Endeavours and subsequent historians record four, but Parkinson, Bootie and Forwood record three. In an echo of these differences in the *Endeavour* texts, the re-enactment of this event in *Tupaia's Endeavour* features a party of three.

[60] Binney, M.W., (2016). The Authority of Entertainment: John Hawkesworth's An Account of the Voyages. *Modern Philology*, *113*(4): 530-549.

of Byron, Carteret, Wallis, and of Cook's *Endeavour* voyage.[61] This publication generated much criticism both at the time and in the centuries since.[62] His account edited material from Cook's journal and other sources into a first-person narrative. Describing the first visit ashore at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, Hawkesworth enhances the self-defence justification of the killing of Te Maro, shown by the following extracts that compare the narratives of first Cook and then Hawkesworth:

> we had no sooner left than four men came out of the woods on the other side the river and would certainly have cut ^her^ off ~~the yawl~~ had not the people in the pinnace discover'd them and called to her to drop down the stream which they did being closely pursued by the Indians; the Coxswain of the pinnace who had the charge of the Boats, seeing this fire'd two musquets over their heads, the first made them stop and look round them, but the 2^d^ they took no notice of~~f~~ upon which a third was fired and killed one of them upon the spot just as he was going to dart his spear at the boat; at this the other three stood motionless for a minute or two, seemingly quite surprised wondering no doubt what it was that had thus killed their commorade…[63]

> When we had got some distance from the boat, four men, armed with long lances, rushed out of the woods, and running up to attack the boat, would certainly have cut her off, if the people in the pinnace had not discovered them, and called to the boys to drop down the stream: the boys instantly obeyed; but being closely pursued by the Indians, the Cockswain of the pinnace, who had the charge of the boats, fired a musquet over their heads; at this they stopped and looked round them, but in a few minutes renewed the pursuit, brandishing their lances in a threatening manner: the Cockswain then fired a second musquet over their heads, but of this they took no notice; and one of them lifting up his spear to dart it at the boat, another piece was fired, which shot him dead. When he fell, the other three stood motionless for some minutes, as if petrified with astonishment…[64]

[61] Hawkesworth, J., (1773). *An Account of the Voyages Undertaken... for Making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, Etc.* W. Strahan; T. Cadell.
[62] See for example Binney (2016); Pearson, W., (1972). Hawkesworth's alterations*. The Journal of Pacific History* 7 (1): 45-72; and Percy, C., (1996). In the margins: Dr Hawkesworth's editorial emendations to the language of captain cook's voyages. *English studies* 77 (6): 549-578.
[63] Cook 8 October 1769.
[64] Hawkesworth 1773: 287.

Note particularly the insertion of “armed with long lances,” “rushed,” and “running up to attack,” where Cook simply says that they “came out of the woods,” and “would have cut them off”. Hawkesworth chooses to add details from Banks’ journal, such as the “long lances,” where they cast the Māori in a more aggressive light.[65] Compare also the following accounts of Cook’s later kidnapping of Te Haurangi, Hikirangi, and Marukawiti. When Cook notes that the Māori were determined to evade the *Endeavour’s* boats, and after Tupaia had tried to persuade them that they would be safe, he ordered a musket to be fired over their heads. Hawkesworth describes what happened next: “They immediately formed a resolution not to fly, but to fight; and when the boat came up, they began the attack with their paddles, and with stones and other offensive weapons that were in the boat, so vigorously, that we were obliged to fire upon them in our own defence…”[66] While Cook writes: “I was misstaken for they immediately took to thier arms ~~and~~ or ~~and~~ whatever they had in the boat and began to attack us, this obliged us to fire upon them,”[67] Hawkesworth adds several words in this passage, notably “offensive weapons” and “so vigorously”. Banks uses the word “brisk” in referring to the Māori’s actions. It is striking to note that self-defence is used to describe the Endeavours’ behaviour in this incident, rather than that of Māori, where the ship’s boats made the first move, and the first weapon used was one of the Endeavours’ muskets. That Māori, and not the Endeavours, acted in self-defence would clearly have been far more consistent with the Earl of Morton’s *Hints* that recognised the Māori right to their lands:

> They are the natural, and in the strictest sense of the word, the legal possessors of the several Regions they inhabit.

[65] Banks 9 October 1769.
[66] Hawkesworth 1773: 290.
[67] Cook 10 October 1769.

> No European Nation has a right to occupy any part of their country, or settle among them without their voluntary consent. Conquest over such people can give no just title; because they could never be the Aggressors.[68]

Andrew Kippis' 1778 narrative of Cook's voyage refers repeatedly to Hawkesworth. Kippis was a Presbyterian minister, working for the congregation of Princes Street Westminster, and a noted biographer. His account of events at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa also uses the words "rushed" and "running up to attack," although he doesn't mention the long lances until later. He also adds his own touches, including "brandished their lances in a threatening manner" (Kippis 1788: 56). On the following day's kidnapping he says:

> The Indians, who were seven in number, immediately formed a resolution not to fly but to fight. When, therefore, the boat came up, they began the attack with their paddles, and with stones and other offensive weapons; and they carried it on with so much vigour and violence, that the English thought themselves obliged to fire upon them in their own defence (Kippis 1788*:* 60).

As these examples show, significant modifications of the original accounts were made in late-eighteenth century publications, the effect of which was to enhance the sense of unprovoked violence by the Māori and the necessity of self-defence by the Endeavours. Such changes were made by people who had not even been to Aotearoa New Zealand, let alone witnessed the events of October 1769. In contrast, the authors of some of the later histories published in the nineteenth century had spent significant periods of time in Aotearoa New Zealand. Indeed, some of them had learned te reo Māori (the Māori language) and were able to listen to and document Māori oral histories of the events of 1769. Nonetheless this experience and knowledge does not seem to have weakened their resolve to perpetuate the Endeavours' narrative of self-defence in the face of unprovoked aggression. For example, the trader Joel Polack arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand with his

[68] MS 9-Papers of Sir Joseph Banks, 1745-1923 (bulk 1745-1820) [manuscript]./Series 3/Item 113 - 113h http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-223065342.

wife in 1831. His early travels in the country included Tūranganui-a-Kiwa and the East Cape area. Here he negotiated with the local people and encouraged them to grow and harvest marketable crops. In Volume I of his 1838 *Narrative of Travels and Adventures*, he describes the *Endeavour* voyage, including the arrival at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa: "Cook, accompanied by Mr. Banks (afterwards Sir Joseph), and Dr. Solander, went on shore, but had scarcely put foot on the beach when they were attacked by a portion of the natives" (Polack 1838: 14). On the later kidnapping, he writes:

> Cook was almost up with them before he was perceived, when the fishermen took to their paddles as fast as they could, and would have escaped, but a musket was discharged over their heads to make them surrender. This, however, had a contrary effect, for the paddling stopped, and regardless of the odds against them, they lustily doffed off their mats, and, as soon as the boats made up, commenced a furious attack, and resisted being captured until four men who were in the canoe were killed… (Polack 1838: 16).

Polack, like Hawkesworth and Kippis, accentuates the aggression of the Māori, going well beyond Cook's own account. In this case, he is not explicit about the justification of self-defence on the part of the Endeavours. Given his inclusion of details from Māori sources, his motivation may have been to represent the bravery of Māori in the face of aggression. His writings and evidence to a House of Lords Select Committee suggest he had a relatively high opinion of Māori, while also holding to principles of white supremacy.[69]

Missionary accounts of the events at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa took a similar approach. For example, the Nottingham-born William Williams trained with the Church Missionary Society on the tacit understanding that he would follow his brother Henry to Aotearoa New Zealand, which he did in March 1826. Between September 1826 and the end of 1837, he had translated the whole of the New Testament and most of the Book of Common Prayer

[69] U.K. Parliament. Report from the select committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the present state of the islands of New Zealand. *GBPP* 1838 (680) XXI: 79-93 (Evidence of J. S. Polack).

into te reo Māori. He spent a great deal of his time on or inland from the North Island's East Coast, including Tūranganui-a-Kiwa. In 1840, he collected signatures for Te Tiriti.[70] His attitude to British colonisation changed dramatically as he grew older. One of his legacies is the *Dictionary of the New Zealand Language*, first published in 1844. On 24 September 1888, now an Archdeacon, William Williams addressed the Auckland Institute on the subject of "the Visit of Captain Cook to Poverty Bay and Tolaga Bay". He used extensive quotes from Cook's published account, following these with interpretive comments of his own. On the death of Te Maro, his commentary has little to say about the location or degree of aggression. Rather, he adds some historical and geographical details from his and his Māori neighbours' local knowledge. In contrast, Williams relies more on his own words, rather than quoting Cook or Banks, in describing the kidnapping:

> One of these canoes was intercepted, but on the approach of the boats the crew, seven in number, began the attack so vigorously with their paddles, with stones,

[70] Te Tiriti is the treaty document between Māori and the British Crown which most of the over 500 Māori rangatira (chiefs) signed either at Waitangi on 6 February 1840 or as the documents and copies travelled around the islands. There were 39 rangatira who signed the English document; some did not sign either. Te Tiriti is a translation of The Treaty of Waitangi written in English by Captain William Hobson (appointed Lieutenant Governor of New South Wales, the boundaries of which had just been extended to include New Zealand), and modified by James Busby, British Resident of New South Wales. Both the English document and especially the te reo Māori document were written in great haste. The translation was undertaken in one day, on 5 February 1840, by William Williams' brother, missionary Henry Williams and his son Edward. In recent years, the two documents have become central to national political life in Aotearoa New Zealand, not least through the Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal set up in 1975 to deal with breaches of the Treaty and made retrospective to 1840 in 1985. Because of differences between the two versions, the fact that Māori rangatira signed Te Tiriti and not the English version is significant. Te Tiriti in te reo Māori has status in international law, rather than the English text. There are nine surviving copies of the two documents: the original in English and te reo Māori, and seven copies in te reo Māori. There is also an English reprint. The history of the documents and their significance is long and at times surprising. So much has been written about the Treaty of Waitangi and Te Tiriti, which, together with the importance of both documents today, makes suggesting further reading difficult. Acknowledging this, I suggest the following. This footnote has drawn mostly from Mein Smith, P. (2015). *A Concise History of New Zealand.* 2nd Edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 3, pp: 47-71. For three other commentaries, see also I. H. Kawharau (ed.) 1989. *Waitangi: Māori and Pākeha Perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi.* Auckland: Oxford University Press; Sir Apirana Ngata, 1963. *The Treaty of Waitangi: An Explanation.* Christchurch: The Māori Purposes Fund Board; and Vincent O'Malley, Bruce Stirling, and Wally Penetito, 2011 *The Treaty of Waitangi Companion: Māori and Pākeha from Tasman to Today.* Auckland: Auckland University Press.

> and with other weapons, that the order was given to fire upon them, when four were, unhappily, killed (Williams 1888: 393).

Despite inconsistencies between his descriptions of these two incidents, the latter demonstrates his perpetuation of the self-defence justification through his use of the expression 'began the attack' with reference to what was clearly a Māori response to the Endeavours' attack.

During the twentieth century, the recognition of the value of Māori histories grew, as is evident in several accounts of the events at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa by historians more familiar with Māori traditions. Born in Invercargill, Joseph Angus Mackay moved to Gisborne and "threw himself into the life of his adopted town".[71] He worked for the *Gisborne Times*[72] for most of his life there. Following many years spent interviewing local inhabitants and gathering material on the history of the area, Mackay finally published *Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast* in 1950, only two years before he died. He continued his research and had planned a revised edition that he did not have time to complete.[73] Mackay's history brings together several *Endeavour* sources, including Cook, Banks, and Parkinson. He also draws on later sources, such as Polack and Williams, to bring in something of the recorded oral history attributed to Māori. In discussing the first landing, Mackay describes the inconsistencies between these accounts, yet he also adds a detail for which there is no evidence in the *Endeavour* records: "Doubtless Tupaea was also one of the party" (Mackay 1950: 22).[74] In contrast to previous historians, Mackay does not justify the use of violence,

[71] Porter, F. 'Williams, William', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1w26/williams-william (accessed 30 May 2020).
[72] The *Gisborne Times* operated under this name from 1901 to 1938, when it was bought out by the *Gisborne Herald* and closed down. https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/gisborne-times. Accessed 29 September 2020.
[73] A second edition was published posthumously in 1966, from which the extracts in this chapter are drawn.
[74] Tupaea is the Māori spelling of Tupaia's name.

although he may be reinforcing assumptions about the coxswain's restraint as he writes: "It was at this juncture that the first of several unfortunate slayings took place. The coxswain of the pinnace, in an attempt to intimidate the natives, fired twice over their heads"(Mackay 1950: 22). Mackay chooses to highlight "the spectacle afforded by the landing of the marines". In this interpretation of an encounter which "must have been colourful as well as animated," he appears to be drawing on Banks' journal, which he goes on to cite, while adding significant conjecture of his own, indicated by the use of 'would be' and the lack of such details in the journals themselves:

> Cook and his companions of rank would be attired in knee breeches, heavily buttoned coats with lace trimmings, waistcoats with long flaps, stout shoes adorned with buckles, and headgear in the form of three-cornered looped-up hats. In striking contrast to the seamen in blue frocks and short, loose trousers, the Marines would look resplendent in red coats, grey trousers and high steeple hats. Short muskets and hangers would be carried by the officers, civilians and marines (Mackay 1950: 29).

The massed Māori were drawn up in two lines, each armed with "a long pike or a small weapon of well polished stone,"[75] and exhibiting behaviour that was interpreted as threatening by Gore as well as Banks. Banks explains that "we thought that it was prudent to withdraw until the marines were landed and drawn up to intimidate them and support us in case of necessity".[76] Banks is clearly aware of the performance involved here as he continues: "They landed and marched with a jack carried before them to a little bank about 50 yards from the river, which might be about 40 broad. Here they were drawn up in order, and we again advanced to the riverside."[77] Mackay also spots details in the different copies

[75] Banks 9 October 1769.
[76] *Ibid.*
[77] *Ibid.*

of Cook's journals that highlight the landing of the marines as a response to the Māori spectacle:

> In the Rough notes which Cook made at the close of the day, he included some important details which he did not afterwards incorporate in his journal. Outstanding among them are those which indicate the risk to which he exposed himself. It seems that the Marines and sailors were in boats lying Off Boat Harbour when he and his companions retired to that spot to have them landed (1966: 30).

John Beaglehole's publications in the 1950s and 1960s constitute a milestone in the history-making about Cook and the *Endeavour* voyage. He wrote his master's thesis on Governor William Hobson at Victoria University College. In 1926, he travelled to London with a postgraduate scholarship and in 1929 completed his doctorate on British colonial policy at the London School of Economics. In the 1940s, he was drawn into New Zealand's national centennial preparations, and in the following years published *The Discovery of New Zealand* and other colonial histories of the nation. However, it was his scholarly edition of the journals of James Cook that established his international reputation. Through his work as editor and biographer, he became a public figure, serving on many boards and committees. He was also an official guest at the 1969 bicentenary events in Gisborne.

In his first volume on Cook's journals (1955), Beaglehole establishes a broad foundation with contextual details of the different surviving volumes of Cook's journals, the various other sources, both text and image, and their authors. It is here in his introduction that Beaglehole first reveals his interpretations of Cook and his journals. He quotes Cook's stated intent: "'In this journal, I have with undisguised truth and without gloss inserted the whole transactions of the voyage and made such remarks and have given such descriptions of things as I thought it was necessary in the best manner I was Capable off" (Beaglehole 1955: cxciv). Beaglehole explains what he believed this means in practice:

> But so much happened. So much could be described satisfactorily only in detail. […] 'In the best manner he was capable of.' So inevitably he made deliberate drafts or thought of better ways of putting things, and treated what he had already written as a draft, or learnt more and filled in; inevitably, his clerk having made a fair copy, he was visited by afterthoughts that seemed important; or perhaps, on some rare occasion having denounced a person, thought no good purpose would be served by sending the sentiment forward, and deleted it before a copy was made. Then further copies were taken at different times, and not regularly from the same original (1955: cxciv).

So, Beaglehole cautioned us: "An effort has been made to carry out this examination as comprehensively as possible, and – to refer to our initial metaphor – to chart the coasts and record the soundings; the reader, or passenger, being warned that there are rocks and deceptive shallows, and even a certain quantity of fog" (*ibid.*).

Beaglehole apparently did not wish to undermine Cook's words by exposing the limits of his journals to full and frank criticism. The same cannot be said of Anne Salmond's *Two Worlds: First Meetings Between Maori and Europeans, 1642-1772*, first published in 1991. By integrating extensive Māori histories into her narrative, she reframes the Endeavours' words in a very different context, one which embraces histories from both sides of the beach. Dame Anne Salmond is very well-known in Aotearoa New Zealand and across the world. A Professor of Māori Studies most often associated with the disciplines of anthropology and history, her interest in and motivation for tackling the predominant Western narratives of Māori and European encounters started early in her life. She became aware of her lack of knowledge about Māori culture and history as a teenager. Her relationship with Amiria and Eruera Stirling provided formative opportunities to learn.[78] Several books in the twentieth century advanced that work. The most important for this

[78] Anne Salmond worked closely with Eruera and Amiria Stirling, noted elders of Te Whānau-ā-Apanui and Ngāti Porou, a collaboration which led to the publication of several books including Salmond, A., (2005). *Amiria: The Life Story of a Maori Woman Amiria Manutahi Stirling as Told to Anne Salmond*. London: Penguin. and Salmond, A., (1990). *Eruera: The teachings of a Maori elder*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

thesis was *Two Worlds*, a meticulous history weaving extensive and diverse sources together, a work which has radically altered the way that the histories of the first European contacts with Te Ao Māori[79] can be retold in the academic world and beyond. Furthermore, Salmond herself has continued to publish works of scholarship in the same vein, such as *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog* (2003), *Aphrodite's Island* (2011), and *The Tears of Rangi* (2018). Her indomitable optimism in seeking a just and sustainable future for Māori, Pākehā, and the many other cultures now living in Aotearoa New Zealand increasingly stands out in her body of work.[80] It is clearly visible in the way she has chosen to tell her histories of those three days in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa.

Presaging the increasingly widespread temporal reframing of these events,[81] Salmond begins *Two Worlds* with a description of the settlement of the islands and the history of Māori populations before 1769. In creating a view of the events from both sides of the beach, Salmond draws for example on Polack and Williams, mentioned above. Following a brief account of the killing of Te Maro whose outline is drawn from the Endeavours' accounts, Salmond offers her own interpretation of Indigenous actions:

> this meeting was probably intended as a ritual challenge rather than an ambush. The local people had had a day to muster their forces, and there would have been many more than four warriors on hand. In traditional times one form of ceremonial challenge was to send out a warrior to throw a spear towards an approaching stranger group, although in more recent times this has been muted to a display of weapon handling. The Europeans did not know this, however, and their response was swift and lethal. Te Maro was shot… (Salmond 1991: 125).

[79] Te Ao Māori , the Māori world, is sometimes referred to as Māoridom.
[80] Pākehā is a term used for non-Māori citizens of white European heritage.
[81] Many subsequent historians have reframed Cook's voyages within the history and timeframe of Polynesian exploration and settlement of Oceania, as well as recent exhibitions and commemorations, as will become clear in the case studies in the next three chapters.

Concerning the kidnapping, Salmond bases much of her description of events and their local social and political context on Māori iwi sources, including Land Court evidence. The evidence of regrets by Banks and Cook for the way things had gone is also laid out in detail. She notes: "By the evening, however, at least nine local men had been killed or wounded by musket or pistol fire, and the shootings at sea at least could have been avoided. Cook was aware that the Earl of Morton would not be pleased with these events, and tried to explain what had happened in his journal…" (Salmond 1991: 131).

In reviewing the events at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, Salmond explains the limits of the Europeans' knowledge of the landscape and culture that they encountered and focuses on ignorance and misunderstanding as proximal causes of the killing:

> Despite the excellence of their descriptions … it is important to remember that the *Endeavour*'s men never ventured more than about a kilometre inland, and that their impressions of the bay were in some respects misleading. […] Nor did the expedition gain a reliable impression of the local population… These first encounters between Cook's men and Māori people had been short, suspicious and violent, and not a great deal was learned about life on shore (Salmond, 1991: 131).

Salmond's approach is echoed in other recent histories of encounter influenced by contemporary anthropology. Nicholas Thomas, for example, also seeks to inhabit space between the European and Pacific cultures entangled in eighteenth-century voyages like that of the *Endeavour*. In *Discoveries*, Thomas offers a lighter narration of exploration, relying less on detailed references than Salmond. *Discoveries* is a big-picture book intended for a wide audience. As with Salmond, however, Thomas seeks to frame the *Endeavour's* arrival within a broader time frame, and to accommodate Māori cultural experience. On the killing of Te Maro, Thomas quotes Monkhouse and Banks, adding very little narrative of his own. Where he does identify a "profoundly significant," moment in the experience of encounter, it is to point out something that was missed, at least immediately, by Banks,

Cook, and Monkhouse, but which, he implies, affected their next meeting with Māori (Thomas 2003: 87). The point he notes is that the moko (facial tattoo) on Te Maro's face was identified as a tattoo, despite the fact that Tahitian tattoos were not worn on the face. On their next landing, before Tupaia arrived, the party called out to Māori across the river in Tahitian, although on this occasion it did not appear to have been recognised by Māori warriors. The association, Thomas is implying, had been made through recognition of the moko.

In his description of later moments in the encounter, with the marines landed to face off the Māori, Thomas reviews the Endeavours' use of the word 'insolence' and asserts that it could be applied to the more as well as the less powerful. The performances by the groups of Māori and Europeans, he seems to imply, are both powerful statements: "That morning on the sandy edge of the Tūranganui River, it must have seemed unlikely that the Māori who daunted Cook would ever acknowledge European superiority. Their 'insolence' was the arrogance of the powerful" (Thomas 2003: 88). And yet, he goes on to explain, referring to Cook, that the Māori

> had to be treated with civility, but they had to be convinced of the 'superiority' of Europeans … In a draft of this journal entry, Cook provided detail that he chose to omit from the official record. He says that he 'got Tobia to tell them that we was their friends and only come to get water and to trade with them and that if they offer'd to insult us we could with ease kill them all' (Thomas 2003: 92).

In his analysis of the kidnapping that took place later the same day Thomas points out that both Cook and Banks expressed "misgivings" and "regret". However, in again comparing Cook's draft and revised journal entries, he notes that: "Troubled as this passage is, it hardly represents a full or candid account." In the draft entry, "Cook acknowledges that it was not a choice of killing or being killed. Withdrawal was also an option, but not one that he would countenance". Thomas identifies the difference in approach between the Earl of

Morton's *Hints* and Wallis' strategy, arguing that Cook sides with Wallis, while fearing Morton's censure: "Cook believed that if European mariners were challenged or threatened, the prompt use of force – if need be lethal force – would demonstrate that resistance was futile" (Thomas 2003: 92). Thomas is more critical of Cook's use of lethal force than any of the other historians cited here. His criticism is aimed at both his numerous decisions to use such force, and the effects of doing so. Illustrating the former, he notes that Cook's approach was "inconsistent with the spirit of his instructions, and one explicitly disapproved of by his Royal Society sponsors" (Thomas 2003: 92). Illustrating the latter, he writes that they "started shooting to prove that this sort of encounter was susceptible to their control, but they convinced neither the Māori nor themselves" (Thomas 2003: 91).

In contrast to previous historians, both Salmond and Thomas have revised the traditional narrative of the *Endeavour* voyage in important ways. They have also challenged the temporal framing of the narrative. However, while some elements of the scenario of encounter are challenged by their work, others are not. To explain this point, it is useful here to return to some of the arguments already made about the Endeavours' histories and consider their enduring legacy and impact even on recent histories.

2.5. Perpetuating the Scenario of Encounter

Just as the *Endeavour* authors – the first historians of these events – brought their prior experience, assumptions, and anticipations with them to their encounter, so too have later historians. This relationship with past and future in present history-making is complex and powerful. Recall Linda Tuhiwai Smith's point, discussed in Chapter 1 – the relationship between academic research and Indigenous people is "less about choosing methods" and more about "the context in which research problems are contextualised and designed and

the implications of research for its participants and communities" (Tuhiwai Smith 2012, ix). In what follows I want to consider the context of the author who, for me, most clearly challenged the narratives.

In Anne Salmond's scenario of encounter with Te Ao Māori, contact was, as noted above, by invitation from Eruera and Amiria Stirling. Any dissonance she consequently experienced in writing her doctorate was guided and mentored by the same people, and the resolution thereof embraced a recognition of difference and mutual respect. As an anthropologist and historian, Anne Salmond explains her work in ways that echo these initial encounters. She is clearly aware that each research project about encounter is an encounter in the present, and that the way she participates in the contemporary encounters is as worthy of her attention as the research topic itself. While not without her critics, even friendly ones, she is widely recognised as someone who approaches encounter with self-awareness. In so doing, she can model a different scenario of encounter, one based on negotiated contact, on the recognition of difference and the facing of dissonance, and resulting in a participative, respectful form of resolution. Such an approach is perhaps becoming more common. Nonetheless, much contemporary history-writing around cross-cultural encounters involving Indigenous peoples, including this thesis, still perpetuates elements of an imposed scenario of encounter in the way things are done – as much as it does in commemorating, exhibiting, and filming historical cross-cultural encounters. The authority of the printed text over the oral and performative repertoire still dominates. Definitions of what constitutes historical knowledge are still also dominated by Western academic standards and media. It is a recorded experience of Indigenous people that their

history somehow only becomes 'real' when it is validated by Western academic research. Recently for example, Hoturoa Barclay-Kerr[82] put it like this:

> It's not that we haven't talked about it or anything like this, it's just that nobody believes us. So and what's interesting is it's not until someone from a University comes along and tells you the exact story you've told over hundreds of years that everyone decides oh actually that's a story we can believe now. So I think it's interesting and important that people understand that if they pay attention to some of the kōrero of iwi around the place it's actually kōrero that might be of value.[83]

Alternative approaches recognise that the way research is undertaken and communicated can and should change as well as the narratives it creates. The ninth David Nichol Smith Memorial Seminar, convened at the University of Auckland in 1993, is one such example.[84] Decisions about how, including where, to set up the events were carefully made to challenge scenarios of encounter perpetuated in academic discourse about the Pacific, so that the continuity of Pacific cultures was not just the theme, but also the climate and context for Pacific history. Such choices are always available, but as unexamined parts of a scenario of encounter can be invisible or otherwise resistant to change. History, indeed any narrative, cannot be divorced from the context or scenario in which its meaning is expressed (Dening 1995: 14). Two distinct options, that can be realised together, appear to be possible and desirable: that the academic context for making history changes, embracing under-

[82] Co-chair of Tuia 250 Encounters, the national commemorative framework for the 2019 commemorations in Aotearoa New Zealand, with ex-Prime Minister of Aotearoa New Zealand, Dame Jenny Shipley.
[83] Tuia 250 (2020) Interview with Hoturoa Barclay-Kerr. [video] *Tuia 250*. Available at: https://www.facebook.com/tuia250nz/posts/2781485805243583, [accessed 7 January 2020]. Kōrero can be translated as dialogue, but it is also a performative in the Austin sense: "where the exchange of views constitutes a political reality as well as a search for truth – where something is done as well as known," Calder, A. *et al.* (1999). Introduction: Postcoloniality and the Pacific. In Calder, A., Lamb, J., and Orr B., (eds) *Voyages and Beaches: Pacific Encounters 1769-1840.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press: 1; Austin, J., (1962). *How to do Things With Words*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
[84] The David Nichol Smith memorial Seminar series, first held in 1966, offers an interdisciplinary forum for research into any aspect of the long eighteenth century. The first David Nichol Smith Memorial Seminar was held as a public celebration of the arrival of his collection – of some 8,000 volumes and 1,500 pamphlets (about half of which were printed before 1800) – at the National Library of Australia in Canberra. Seminars have been held approximately every three years since.

represented groups and diverse ontologies and epistemologies; and that history making is recognised as taking place in other contexts beyond the academy, with and by under-represented groups.

2.6. Conclusions

In the encounters at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa Poverty Bay, contact was imposed by the landing of the Endeavours. Māori were thus obliged to withdraw or engage. They chose to engage. If Salmond's interpretation is correct, and I believe it is, then Māori chose to engage through a wero, when three or four men approached those of the *Endeavour* landing party who stayed on the beach. In such an interpretation, this performative act was made in the expectation of a performative response. However, in the absence of their commander and of an interpreter, Tupaia, the Endeavours responded with lethal violence. In this first landing, as in the second, the contact imposed by the Endeavours and met by Māori with a performative engagement, created dissonance, which was suppressed by the lethal use of superior weapons intended to demonstrate the innate superiority the Endeavours' believed they held. Only during the third landing did improvised performative acts create dialogue as a response to dissonance rather than violence with Marukawiti and Te Haurangi acting as intermediaries and with Māori engaging Tupaia rather than the Europeans. By this stage, however, the killings and kidnappings had provoked responses from the different iwi and hapū that it appeared impossible to stop. In the face of superior numbers, a refusal to accept the Endeavours' supposed superiority, and a continuing or increasing threat to the expedition's opportunities to re-supply, the Endeavours withdrew. By the time they did so, their one-sided resolution became a version of history that perversely cast Māori as aggressors and themselves as having acted in self-defence.

The history that historians write exists as much in the context of its performance as in its text. The performance of the *Endeavour's* history making was situated on the ship, in the Admiralty and Royal Society, and in the social circles in which the Endeavours moved and shared or envisaged sharing their histories.[85] Similarly, those historians who have subsequently drawn on their texts perform in public, professional, and academic contexts in contemporary societies around the world. Each author makes their history as part of an entangled web of social relationships in which symbolism and meanings are shared. The *Endeavour* authors interpreted and archived their own experiences and those of their fellow travellers, consciously or unconsciously, in relation to the scenario of encounter that they inhabited, one that defined them along with their audiences and the performances of their future selves. The social contexts of the scenario constrained the authors to use and establish meanings shared in those contexts. Intrinsically then, their history making is in tension with Māori history making in these cross-cultural encounters, where contexts and therefore meanings are not shared, or at least shared insufficiently. The tensions of the encounter are largely invisible in their words, except, for example, in rare moments of reflection by Cook but can be discerned in the way their texts collapse their experiences of encounter into narratives, and in the way those narratives resist their forms – the logbooks and journal volumes.

Those academic historians of the Endeavours' encounter with Māori also write their histories which need to be situated in their in their own contexts. They write, too, in the shadow of the *Endeavour* journals, perpetuating textual compromises of experience and assumptions, while also adding their own. Postcolonial anthropologists and historians such

[85] Harriet Parsons explores this point thoroughly in her account of the contexts of Georgian society in which the Endeavours and their texts operated. Parsons 2018: 17-43.

as Salmond and Thomas have increasingly drawn the oral histories of Indigenous people into their texts to tell the stories of cross-cultural encounters from both sides of the beach. The various interpretations of the events at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa discussed in this chapter reflect the social contexts of the scenario of encounter that constrain the process of their narration. Moreover, the *Endeavour* narratives draw on each other, from eyewitnesses, and from second-hand accounts: Kippis borrows from Hawkesworth; Polack adds his colouring of events; and, despite decades of decolonial work on exploration and Oceania, even very recent authors perpetuate the self-defence justification.[86] Yet others either chose not to do so or do so to a much lesser degree. Williams thus uses quotes far more than interpretation; both Salmond and Thomas use a combination of European and Indigenous sources to bring a different perspective to their histories. Salmond in particular reads sources in ways that seek out deeper understandings of the events, the explanation of the traditional role of the wero being an example of how she goes beyond narrative, dealing with bodies, embodied gesture, and performance as ways of knowing.

Yet even those such as Salmond who appear to be challenging rather than perpetuating the original *Endeavour* narratives perform in a "space so closed around with convention that the audience and actors enter into the conspiracy of their own illusions," caught in the "paradox … that self-awareness, performance consciousness, does not disturb the realisms of their understanding" (Dening 1993: 74). Both Salmond and Thomas are identified as of European heritage, both are academics, both enjoy the celebrity of their

[86] See for example McAleer, J., and Rigby, N., (2017). *Captain Cook and the Pacific: Art, Exploration and Empire*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press and National Maritime Museum: "…they found the Māori inhabitants unfriendly and unwilling to trade, although Tupaia was understood by them. Three approaches were violently repulsed and, to Cook's grief, several Māori were killed as he and his men defended themselves. Empty-handed, the *Endeavour* left Poverty Bay, as Cook named it, heading south and finding only further hostility ashore," (2017: 47). What stands out in this brief account is the fragile justification of self-defence.

disciplines. Both are entangled with the colonial relationships that have so deeply affected Tūranganui-a-Kiwa and continue to do so today. Because of this context, about which they can do little, and despite the lengths that each goes to in drawing Māori sources into their histories, each risks perpetuating in their history making the underlying power relationships evident in the events themselves. For example, they are not Māori yet tell Māori histories. They are researching and publishing within a Western academic context that, as Tuhiwai Smith vividly describes, is at odds with Indigenous ways of knowing and inherently associated with colonisation. That said, it is important to emphasise that I have focused in this chapter on their works in print (notably their major books), seeking to establish the workings of narrative and the extent to which their histories echo earlier narratives. Once published, books continue the work of their authors in unpredictable and sometimes powerful ways, as Salmond's 2003 *Trial of the Cannibal Dog* did in the context of the making of the film *Tupaia's Endeavour*, explained in Chapter 5. Moreover, both Salmond and Thomas have worked extensively and energetically in many other forms and media, including exhibitions, collaborations, projects, doctoral supervision, film, and television. A focus on text leaves other possible histories – other narratives and scenarios – to be explored, especially those that engage in encounters more through the repertoire than the archive. In their broader work as well as the monographs featured here, their relationship to the scenario of encounter is nuanced. To the extent that they tell Māori histories by invitation from Māori, they are not imposing contact. To the extent that their work faces difference and dissonance honestly and openly, they are entering into meaningful encounters that do not seek to impose a presumptive resolution. To the extent that their work brings benefits to Māori that Māori invite and recognise, they respond to Tuhawai-Smith's questions positively and challenge previous scenarios of encounter.

Chapter 3. Tūranganui-a-Kiwa: Commemorations and the Scenario of Encounter

> While only one side remembers the suffering of the past, dialogue will always be difficult.
> One side commences the dialogue with anger and the other side has no idea why.
> *Turanga Tangata, Turanga Whenua*
> Waitangi Tribunal Report 2004.

3.1. Introduction

In this Chapter, I explore the persistence of a scenario of encounter in five commemorative events at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa between 1905 and 2019. I show how relationships between what Diana Taylor describes as archive and repertoire were manifest in these events, and how they contribute to the perpetuation of and challenges to the scenario. The five events discussed are: a re-enactment of the Endeavours' first landing filmed in 1905; the unveiling of the first monument to James Cook in Aotearoa New Zealand in 1906; and then the 150th, 200th, and 250th anniversary commemorations held in 1919, 1969, and 2019 respectively.[1] The chapter examines the events centred on the city of Gisborne, a settlement with a current population of around 37,000 people.

Unusually for Aotearoa New Zealand cities, the population of Gisborne is today broadly 50% Māori and 50% Pākeha. The first Polynesians arrived in the area on the Horouta and Te Ikaroa-a-Rauru waka to settle in the district around 1350AD.[2] Gisborne itself

[1] Commemorative events in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa Poverty Bay have not been limited to standard centenaries or half-centenaries. For example: *Weekly Press* 14 October 1902: "As Gisborne, from the fact of the Captain Cook celebration, is the centre of attraction in the colony, a number of pictures from that pretty town are given first place…"; *Auckland Star* 8 October 1903 "Gisborne this day. Today is being celebrated as a public holiday in commemoration of Captain Cook's landing in Poverty Bay."

[2] For a general introduction to the settlement of Aotearoa New Zealand, see for example Howe, K. (2003). *The Quest for Origins: Who First Discovered and Settled New Zealand and the Pacific Islands?* Auckland: Penguin.

developed in what is now known as Tūranganui-a-Kiwa Poverty Bay in the mid-to late-nineteenth century.[3] The New Zealand Wars of the 1860s had a devastating impact on the area (Belich 2013; Mein Smith 2012; O'Malley 2019). The violence and land theft of that time continue to affect lives, land, and relationships today. As a colonial settler town, Gisborne was formally established under its new name in 1877, on a site already long settled by Māori and then known as Tūranga. There had been a profound change in the area since the first Pākeha settlers arrived, generally acknowledged to be Captains John Harris and George Read, who established trading activities from the 1830s onwards; Read is commonly identified as the town's founder, in 1852. Conflict in the area in 1865-66 during the New Zealand Wars drew the attention of the government to the strategic importance of the site (Soutar 2011), and 300 acres were then bought around the settlement. The town was laid out and renamed Gisborne in 1870 and the town council established in 1877. Gisborne was awarded city status in 1955, when its population passed 20,000; only the fourteenth town in Aotearoa New Zealand to do so. The fabric of the city and its district are today saturated with reminders of James Cook and the *Endeavour* voyage, in its street names, buildings, and monuments, (see figures 3.1-3.3). The monuments have been the target for activists at times (see figure 3.4). More recently, the Māori place names that were replaced by settlers are starting to reappear in public places and organisations, for example in the broader geographical place Te Tairāwhiti, as used for the city's museum and art gallery. Public art has also been installed in recent years that reflects Māori culture and history (see Figures 3.5 a and b). In addition to its Māori and European residents, Tūranganui-a-Kiwa Poverty Bay is also home to Pasifika and Chinese communities.

[3] James Cook named it Poverty Bay in 1769, and this was officially changed in February 2019, following a local petition to the then mayor, Meng Foon.

Figures 3.1. a. and b. Street signs in Gisborne. Photographs by the author.

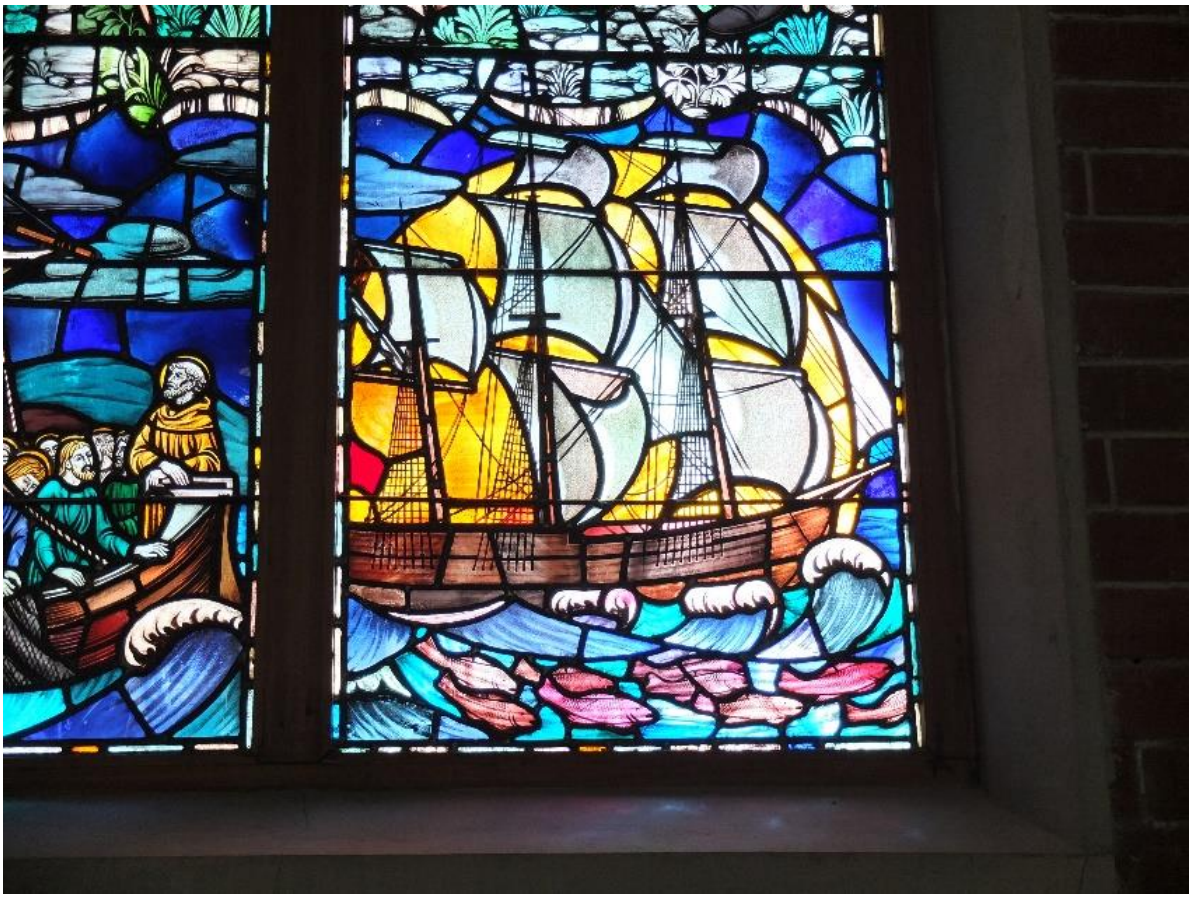

Figure 3.2. Stained glass window at Holy Trinity Anglican Church Derby Road, Gisborne. Photograph by the author.

Figures 3.3. a. and b. Statues of Cook in Gisborne. Photograph by the author.

Figure 3.4. Activists have targeted the statues of Cook in Gisborne at times. Photograph courtesy of the *Gisborne Herald*.

Figures 3.5. a. and b. Public Māori art in Gisborne. Photographs by the author.

3.2. Repertoire for the archive: the 1905 re-enactment on film

On 16 August 1905 a large crowd gathered at Puhi Kai Iti, now known as Kaiti Beach, to watch "a mimic representation of Captain Cook's first landing in New Zealand".[4] Three scenes of the landing were filmed. The first showed Cook "landing and making overtures to the Natives"; the second was "the shooting episode so familiar to all readers of history"; and the third was of "the Natives retiring and recovering the body".[5] Newspaper reports explain that the re-enactment of the *Endeavour* party's landing was set up opportunistically to create a film which would be screened locally the following year, when a new monument to Cook was due to be unveiled. This re-enactment of the *Endeavour* landing was filmed by Major Perry of the Salvation Army's Biorama Company, based in Melbourne, Australia.[6] The Company had been in Gisborne presenting spectacles of music, song, and pictures. The

[4] *Auckland Star* 17 August 1905.
[5] *Gisborne Times* 17 August 1905.
[6] In August 1905, Major (later Brigadier) Joseph Henry Perry's Salvation Army Biorama Company (there were several companies), based in Australia, was on a tour of New Zealand and Britain. A development of the Limelight initiative that started with lantern slides, the Biorama Company under Perry's leadership had a pioneering role in the birth of filmmaking in New Zealand and Australia.

shows included the novel phenomenon of moving pictures using the kinematograph.[7] The Biorama Company filmed many local scenes on their tours, to be screened when the Company next visited the place, and elsewhere in the meantime. Alongside these local subjects, there were humorous films,[8] historical and news items, such as the 1906 San Francisco earthquake,[9] and, more in keeping with the purpose of the Company, films of Christian stories, such as the milestone *Soldiers of the Cross*.[10]

The central role of Major Perry and the Biorama Company links the re-enactment to contemporaneous global networks and processes. In 1905, the wider contexts included the work of the Lumière brothers August and Louis in France, manufacturers of the kinematograph; the religious mission of the Salvation Army, still driven at this time by the founding Booth family from Britain; and the politics around Royal visits to the colonies, such as that by the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York to mark Australian federation in 1901, which Perry had been commissioned to film. Such global contexts continued to influence the development of film throughout this period and beyond, including the development of moving pictures not only in Australasia, but in Indonesia and the United States, where ex-Biorama Company staff later worked. The reception of the film by audiences further reinforces this global context. The film made in 1905 was shown in Gisborne on 12 July the following year, the first of the three nights that Perry's Biorama

[7] The spelling of the new word changed rapidly in this period and is also recorded as kinematographe and cinematograph.
[8] *Marlborough Express*, volume 41, issue 179, 31 July 1907; *New Zealand Times*, volume 27, issue 5696, 18 September 1905.
[9] *Timaru Herald*, volume 79, issue 12213, 4 November 1903.
[10] "The first use of moving pictures for a feature-length narrative drama in Australia, and possibly the world," Wollenberg, M., (2008). Perry's Legacy, *Australian Museum of Motion Picture and Television Newsletter* March 2008: 4-7.

Company staged their multimedia performances there. It was shown alongside a diverse selection of films:

> a fine descriptive photograph of moose hunting in Canada, experiments with an aeroplane, some beautiful views of British warships and life aboard them, the lengthy film depicting the devastation at San Francisco, photographs of Gisborne as seen from a motor-car, and the landing of Captain Cook. There were numerous humorous subjects, provoking screams of laughter, the best of which was 'Summer Boarders'. [11]

On the second and third evenings, films screened included *Christ Among Men* and *The Life of Nelson*. It is also significant that the local films Perry made were screened elsewhere, typically before they were screened in the places where they were filmed. For example, the re-enactment of the Endeavours' first landing was shown in Wellington on 16 September 1905.[12] The showing of local films around the country offered many opportunities for the population to become familiar with distant parts of the country, and for them to absorb a sense of themselves as a nation.

The decision to support a film of a re-enactment of the first landing at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa was taken at a Council meeting on 15 August 1905, only the day before it took place. The meeting also dealt with plans, covered in the next section, to build a monument to Cook in Gisborne the following year, 1906. It was a decision in which the then Mayor John Townley played a large part, although he declined the invitation to take the part of Cook in the film. With many reluctant candidates to play Cook being rejected or declining the honour, the part was eventually taken by one of Major Perry's musicians, who agreed to have his moustache shaved off for the sake of authenticity. A contemporary press report states that while the Pākehā were hesitant, the Māori were enthusiastic. "A representative

[11] *Poverty Bay Herald* 13 July 1906.
[12] *Poverty Bay Herald* 28 June 1906.

for the native boy who accompanied Captain Cook was soon found [and] the fine band of warriors … attired in costly mats and … in possession of an axe or spear."[13] Among the group of warriors were two of the older Māori participants wearing contemporary European clothing.

> It took Major Perry some time to persuade them that they would mar the realism of the show if they did not retire. Other difficulties were successfully encountered, and although it cannot be pretended that the rehearsal would bear complete resemblance to the historic occasion, a kinematograph film hides many defects. Much value can be attached to the fact that the performance took place in the spot where Cook landed, and that some of the natives defending could probably claim descent from the men of the genuine incident.[14]

The role of Perry here is significant, not only as the leader and technical expert, but as the film director, defining "realism" and "defects". As director, he was firmly establishing the Māori participants as historical characters. Perry explicitly aimed at creating "realism" through the dress and ancestry of the Māori, and through the location of the performance. There is some irony then in the fact that there are few recorded Pākehā contributions to "realism". There were no descendants of Cook or the Endeavours taking part; the dress of the English re-enactors is not even remotely authentic. The newspapers also record that the re-enactment *Endeavour* party bore little resemblance to the party that was involved in the killing of Te Maro during the first landing. Certainly, there is no evidence that Taiato accompanied Cook on his first landing.

While the film has not survived,[15] there is a sequence of 12 still photographs, taken by celebrated local photographer William Fitzgerald Crawford, the settler town of Gisborne's

[13] *Gisborne Times* 17 August 1905.
[14] *Poverty Bay Herald* 17 August 1905.
[15] That the film has not survived is most likely due to a dramatic change of heart about the role of Biorama in the Salvation Army in Australasia. Commissioner James Hay took over responsibility for the territory in September 1909 and the Biorama Companies' work was quickly shut down. By 1910, the film studio had

first mayor (figures 3.7-3.18).[16] The press reports explain that three re-enactment scenes were filmed:

> The first picture taken depicted Captain Cook landing and making overtures to the Natives and the second the shooting episode so familiar to all readers of history. A third picture was taken of the Natives retiring and recovering the body. … Several very successful hakas were also given and kinematographed.[17]

The twelve photographs show more than the three scenes that the press article states were filmed. If Crawford's numbering is chronological, and the state of the tide in different images suggests that it is, then figures 3.7-3.10 appear to show scenes from before filming, 3.11-3.16 show the three scenes being filmed, and 3.17 and 3.18 show scenes following filming. Thus, the series of photographs have preserved more than the film would have done, had it survived. They have preserved behind-the-scenes images of contemporary fashion, the social diversity of the spectators, and possibly Major Perry himself (figure 3.10). The photographs reinforce the suggestion from the press reports of greater numbers of Māori than Pākehā participants in the filmed re-enactment, although there are many Pākehā spectators. Of the film sequences themselves, the photographs show that the presence of Māori in the re-enactment contributed greater authenticity than that of Pākehā, not least through their clothing.

Another significant player in recording the event then was William Crawford himself. Without his photographs, there would today be no visual evidence of the re-enactment

ceased production, the Companies had been disbanded, the equipment sold off and the films destroyed. "The cinema, as conducted by the Army, had led to a weakness and a lightness incompatible with true Salvationism, and was completely ended by me" (Hay, J. (1951). *Aggressive Salvationism*, Melbourne, Salvation Army Press: 63.)

[16] William Fitzgerald Crawford moved to Gisborne as a businessman in 1874 and became its first mayor, serving for eighteen months in 1877-1878. He created an extensive record of the development of the town over several decades. Most of the glass slides comprising his photographic archive of around 7,000 images, taken between 1874 to 1912, was donated to Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti Museum and Art Gallery in 1976 by his descendants, (Dudley Meadows, Curator of Photography, Te Whare Taonga o te Tairawhiti Museum and Art Gallery, pers. comm. 2020).

[17] *Poverty Bay Herald* 17 August 1905.

performance. While his archiving of the performance is founded in his profound involvement in the life of the new town of Gisborne, he, too, is embedded in the global networks of this performance. Crawford was born in Ireland and travelled to New Zealand with the intention of making his fortune and returning after a couple of years. He was part of a global network himself, drawn to the New Zealand gold rush before developing a career in brewing.

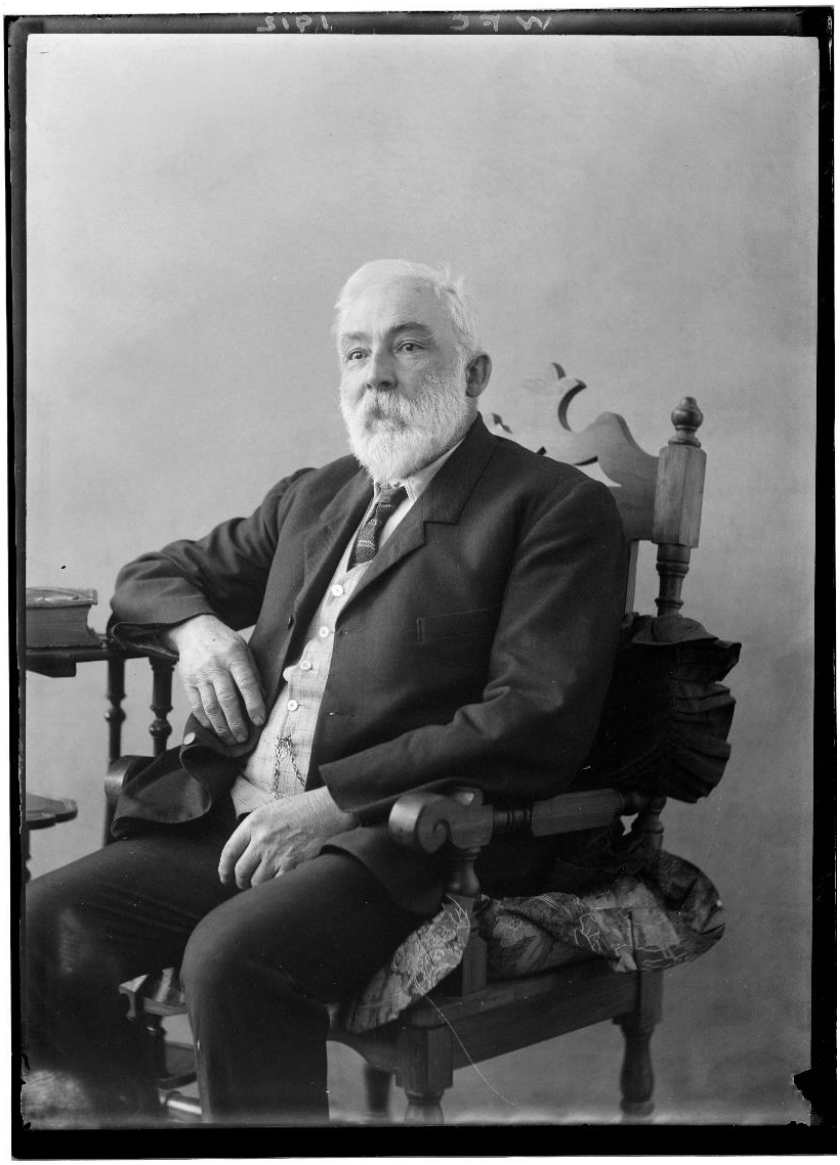

Figure 3.6. William Fitzgerald Crawford, ex-Mayor of Gisborne and photographer. William Crawford's Photograph of himself: Tairāwhiti Museum, Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti, William F. Crawford Collection.

Figure 3.7. Re-enactment of Cook's Landing 16.8.1905: WFC 4704-061/1. Tairāwhiti Museum, Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti, William F. Crawford Collection.

Figure 3.8. Re-enactment of Cook's Landing 16.8.1905: WFC 4705-061/2. Tairāwhiti Museum, Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti, William F. Crawford Collection.

Figure 3.9. Re-enactment of Cook's Landing 16.8.1905: WFC 4706-061/3. Tairāwhiti Museum, Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti, William F. Crawford Collection.

Figure 3.10. Re-enactment of Cook's Landing 16.8.1905: WFC 4707-061/4. Tairāwhiti Museum, Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti, William F. Crawford Collection.

Figure 3.11. Re-enactment of Cook's Landing 16.8.1905: WFC 4708-061/5. Tairāwhiti Museum, Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti, William F. Crawford Collection.

Figure 3.12. Re-enactment of Cook's Landing 16.8.1905: WFC 4709-061/6. Tairāwhiti Museum, Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti, William F. Crawford Collection.

Figure 3.13. Re-enactment of Cook's Landing 16.8.1905: WFC 4710-061/7. Tairāwhiti Museum, Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti, William F. Crawford Collection.

Figure 3.14. Re-enactment of Cook's Landing 16.8.1905: WFC 4711-061/8. Tairāwhiti Museum, Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti, William F. Crawford Collection.

Figure 3.15. Re-enactment of Cook's Landing 16.8.1905: WFC 4712-061/9. Tairāwhiti Museum, Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti, William F. Crawford Collection.

Figure 3.16. Re-enactment of Cook's Landing 16.8.1905: WFC 4713-061/10. Tairāwhiti Museum, Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti, William F. Crawford Collection.

Figure 3.17. Re-enactment of Cook's Landing 16.8.1905: WFC 4714-061/11. Tairāwhiti Museum, Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti, William F. Crawford Collection.

Figure 3.18. Re-enactment of Cook's Landing 16.8.1905: WFC 4715-061/12. Tairāwhiti Museum, Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti, William F. Crawford Collection.

There is another key person involved in this re-enactment. The role of Charles (Charley) Ferris (Ngāti Oneone, Ngāti Konohi), in setting up the event is recorded in the contemporaneous archives of council minutes, photographs, and newspaper reports.[18] A Māori of status locally, it was he who arranged for the large Māori participation at very short notice. "Mr Charles Ferris had been preparing the Maori programme, and he had reason to be justly proud of the fine band of warriors that he brought on parade."[19] The local evidence suggests that Māori were keen participants in the re-enactment, and that their involvement was appreciated by those involved: "Before the gathering dispersed cheers were called by the Mayor for the Natives"[20] These relationship dynamics seem to foreshadow the complex relationships in the interwar period between Indigenous peoples, anthropological expeditions, and tourism, "in which native subjects were beginning to 'perform' their cultures for visitors" (Homiak 2013: vi). The visit of the *Endeavour* in 1769 was an isolated event for Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, with no further recorded contacts with Europeans for the next 60 years. Using Taylor's terminology, we can see that the set up and framing of the 1905 film scenario was dominated by Pākehā, through the council and memorial committee and the missionary Pākehā film director. The narrative it frames is that of the colonists, with the focus on the arrival of the *Endeavour*. The performance of the re-enactment apparently serves the interests of the settler community, yet the participation of Māori is essential (not least to Perry) to ensure the film's authenticity. They are positioned in their place as descendants of those who discovered and settled the land centuries before the Endeavours' arrival, and who faced them on the beaches of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa in

[18] Charles (Charley) Ferris was the son of Captain Charles William Ferris, who was heavily involved in the New Zealand wars (http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/name-401170.html).
[19] *Gisborne Times* 17 August 1905.
[20] *Ibid.*

October 1769. It is also significant in this scenario of encounter that only the first of several landings was re-enacted – an iconic first encounter in a nation building narrative. The scenario of encounter is reduced to an apparently self-evidently significant single originating moment.

This was an opportunistic re-enactment of Cook's landing for the sole purpose of filming it. The events and their description illuminate what happens when, in Diana Taylor's terms, the repertoire is transformed into an archive: a "film hides many defects," as Perry puts it. The complexities of the events, including the contemporaneity of the Māori participants, are simplified. The way they are simplified places the Māori participants firmly in an imagined authentic past. This is not a neutral act: it reinforces an association of Indigenous peoples with the past, and, within the commonly held views of the time, with a less-developed position in the hierarchy of civilisations. Yet the involvement of Māori is more complex than that. The participation of local iwi, descendants of those who witnessed the *Endeavour's* arrival, is what brings all sense of authenticity to the performance. Without Māori participation, what would this film have been?

3.3. Inscribing landscape: unveiling the first monument to Cook, 1906

The first Cook Memorial in Aotearoa New Zealand was erected in 1906, very close to Cook's landing place, at Puhi Kai Iti outside the town of Gisborne, Tūranganui-a-Kiwa. Planning had been going on for some years, with subscriptions already being solicited across the country by September 1902.[21] According to press reports, the unveiling of the monument on 8 October 1906 was preceded by a procession from the town to the site of the monument.

[21] *Manawatu Standard* 18 September 1902.

The events generated an extensive archive of material in the press, both articles and correspondence. These cover planning in the years leading up to the 1906 unveiling, the day's events themselves, and the disputes that continued for some time afterwards. Photographer William Crawford was again present with his camera to document the occasion. Surviving photographs include images of the procession and the unveiling but none of the Māori hakas of the day which were described in detail in the press article.[22]

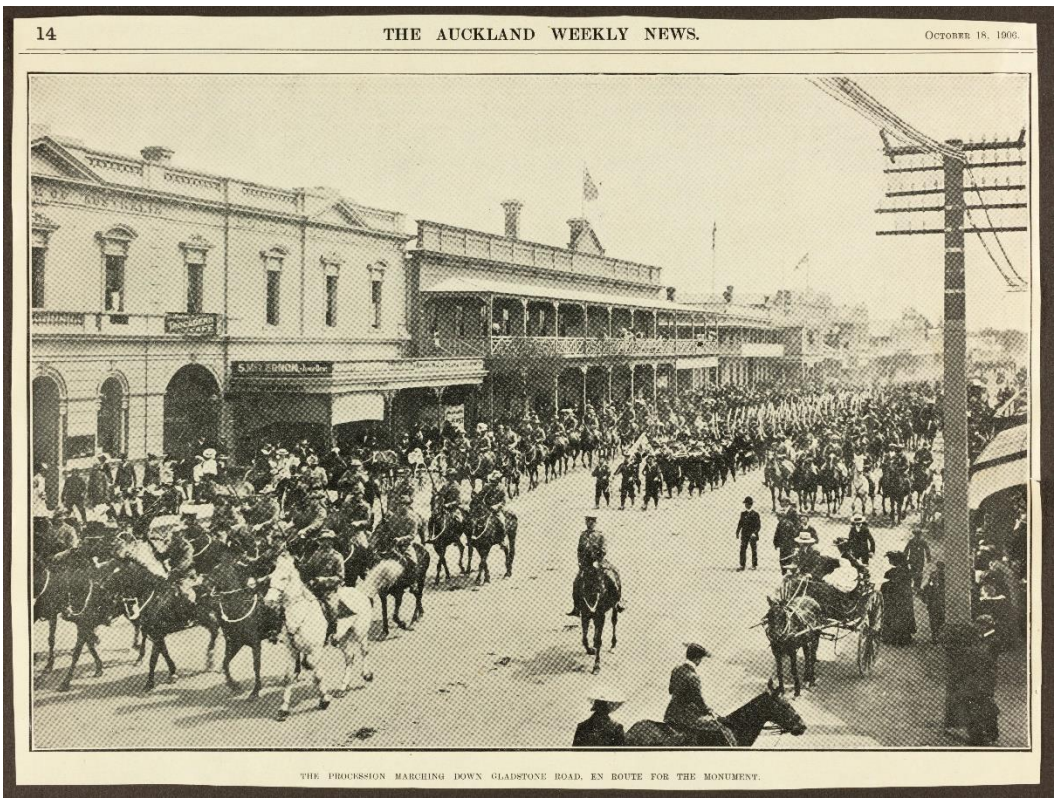

Figure 3.19. The Procession marching down Gladstone Road, en route for the monument. Newspaper cutting from *The Auckland Weekly News* October 18 1906. Photograph by the author.

The photographic archives in Gisborne suggest that a military presence dominated both the procession and the unveiling. *HMS Challenger*, a naval drillship for reservists, and *SS Tutanekai*, a cable-laying ship, were both present offshore. The *Poverty Bay Herald* of 8

[22] *Poverty Bay Herald* 8 October 1906. Subsequent quotes in this section are all drawn from this newspaper article.

October 1906 estimated that the procession was made up of 500 men including the East Coast Mounted Rifles, the Gisborne Rifles and the returned contingenters.[23] Civilian elements in the procession included the Gisborne City and the Salvation Army Bands. The Defence and School cadets processed between the two.

Figure 3.20. Cook Day 8.10.1906. WFC 5152-062/2. Tairāwhiti Museum, Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti, William F. Crawford Collection.

Set up to mark Cook's arrival, the 1906 commemoration focused on a single moment of first encounter – the landing itself – though the detail was different from the re-enactment of the previous year. The event was called a "landing ceremony" rather than a re-enactment. The mounted force "deployed to the beach where a body of sixty Poverty Bay

[23] The men who volunteered to serve British imperial interests in the South African war were formed into 'contingents' and so became known as 'contingenters'. There was a great deal of controversy over the inclusion of the contingenters' names on the monument itself, which I cover below; the procession nonetheless included them as part of a dominantly military procession.

natives, men and women, lined up under the leadership of Pera Rouka," (Te Arai). A Parliamentary party had arrived on *HMS Challenger*, and, as their boat approached, "the famous landing place of Cook, a welcome haka, known as the Waikurakura, was vigorously danced". The party made their way up to the monument where another haka specially composed for the event was performed. This concluded, according to the report, with the words "Welcome, representatives of the House, British Navy, and Government to behold the stone erected to Captain Cook, which is standing at the foot of Titirangi. Au, au, aue ha!" The hakas were recognised by the crowd when "at the invitation of the Mayor, three hearty cheers were given for the natives, and the united bands played the opening bars of the National Anthem".

The scenario of encounter re-performed in October 1906 reflected a particular set of concerns at that moment. There was a significant military presence, and there was extensive participation by Māori. This time however, with the involvement of parliamentarians including the recently elected MP for Eastern Māori, Mr (later Sir) Āpirana Ngata (Ngāti Porou), Māori had an active contemporary role in the performance not just a historic one. Marked elements in the archive of both this moment of encounter and that of the previous year are the absence of dissonance and a focus on harmonious resolution, a feature of this performance which was greatly amplified in the speeches that followed. Mayor Townley spoke first, referring to 'the natives of the colony':

> These were descendants of the men who had defied Cook's landing, and who had preferred their country to the spirit moving on the water, but who since then had appreciated the mixed life with Europeans. Natives and Europeans were now mingled together, and enjoyed each other's company, and as far as one knew the Māoris were one of the finest races that the British had discovered. Of course Captain Cook was not received in a friendly manner, but this feeling had disappeared amongst the natives. They were proud to unveil the memorial that day.

In this speech, any enduring differences, in cultures, expectations, and power, are erased. This is the way things are now, it appears to say, and the way they will be: “this colony, destined to hold a very large number of inhabitants”. The relationship of Māori to Europeans is expressed as that of a discovered race, albeit “one of the finest”. This focus on resolution was reinforced by the later speeches, including the Hon. Mr James Carroll.[24] His speech was also a performative contribution to the image of resolution. As the Mayor noted: "The Hon. Mr Carroll, I think, is a bridge on this occasion. He is Native Minister, connected with the native race and also with the Europeans, and therefore Mr Carroll is the one who should perform the ceremony." The theatricality of the unveiling ceremony is clear throughout the speeches, and signalled by the Mayor’s wording, “perform the ceremony”. Carroll’s speech is littered with theatrical language reinforcing the performance of resolution: “it was a poem and a picture when they witnessed to-day the descendants of those who opposed him, and the Pākehā race which had unfolded the great discoveries of the world meeting there on one common platform to do honor to that great discoverer”. The certainty of this unified future is also clear, as Carroll uses expressions like “consecrating the spot for all time,” and “imperishable,” and the coming together on a common platform of the honouring of Captain Cook, “in Western history”. That “Western history,” now embracing the Māori, was recounted to the assembly by well-known Bishop Williams. The Hon A. J. Millar (Minister responsible for the Marine, of which he had been a serving member) also spoke. He too asserted that conflict was past, and the present and future resolved: “In no other part of the world would they find greater freedom and liberty; in no

[24] The Hon. James Carroll (Ngāti Kahungunu) was the Minister for Native Affairs. He tried to put European and Māori representation – at that time in parallel systems – on the same footing, but the plan was opposed by both constituencies. Mr Carroll was of both European and Māori descent.

part would they find a finer race, and in no part would they find the natives living on terms of equality with the Pākehā as they did in New Zealand."

The place is being defined and articulated through the references to time and space in the speeches. Carroll refers to "opening up a closed book of history hallowed by time" and asserts that "as long as the Empire held together, as long as science and civilisation existed, Captain Cook's name would remain forever imperishable". His spatial references are also very clear, ranging from the local ("this lonely spot," "the spot where they were now standing") to the oceanic ("his true monument was the vast Pacific … on whose unknown wastes he had ventured forth"). The significance of place is both explicit and implicit in the narratives of the unveiling. Echoing the words of resolution and harmony, one final gesture of the performance is intriguing. Following several speeches, the Mayor returned to the podium and concluded the ceremony: "His Worship the Mayor called for three cheers for Mrs Carroll in recognition of her generous and valuable gift of two acres of ground at the back of the monument, which would form the nucleus of a park." While the power of Pākehā over Māori land had been dramatically extended in the preceding decades, Mrs Carroll, a Māori woman from northern Hawkes Bay, Heni Materoa (Te Huinga), donated the land.

I have referred here to several performative elements common to 1905 and 1906, already suggestive of a persistent scenario of encounter. There is another aspect of the raising of the monument to Cook that reinforces that view: the way people resisted the attempt to confound the building of the monument to Cook with a commemoration of the contingenters. This controversy requires us to situate the unveiling of the Cook monument in wider regional and global historical contexts which draw attention to the complex relationship between New Zealand, Australia, and Britain during this period. New Zealand

was a novel and uncertain entity in 1905. It was part of the British Empire, having been explicitly dependent on Britain since the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. Its relationship with the newly federated neighbour[25] still held the possibility that it would become a federated state of Australia. When, in September 1899, New Zealand Premier Richard John Seddon asked for volunteers to help Britain in its wars in the Cape, many hundreds of people stepped forward, including Māori, who were specifically excluded by the British government from volunteering.[26] By the end of the wars, contingents of around 6,500 volunteers had left Aotearoa New Zealand for South Africa. The participation of Gisborne's colonial volunteer contingent had a significant impact on those left behind, and on the individuals who returned, evident in their correspondence and reflected in other contingents across the country (Trainor 2002; Crawford and McGibbon 2003; Robson 2012).

Seen in this wider context, it is easier to understand why the creation of a monument to Cook in Gisborne in 1906 became entangled with debates over the memorialisation of Gisborne's 'contingenters'. The two themes were closely intertwined in much of the press correspondence and reports of council meetings, as far back as 1900, when rather premature discussions started about celebrating the end of the war in South Africa.[27] The letters and meetings throughout 1905 and 1906 raised issues of status, honour, money, British imperial ambitions, place, and local politics. The principal participants appear from press reports of memorial committee meetings to have been Mayor Townley and Secretary Gaudin. They challenged the focus on the single moment of first contact that characterised

[25] In 1901.

[26] Mein Smith 2012: 124. "Despite the Crown declining Māori offers of men to fight, sections of the Māori population seem to have remained largely supportive of the war effort, exhibiting this through active fund raising, repeatedly stressing their desire to participate in the fighting and through expressions of solidarity," Robson, N., (2012). *Counting the Cost: The Impact of the South African War 1899-1902 on New Zealand*. Master's thesis, Massey University.

[27] One of the ways of celebrating the end of the war that was discussed very early on was raising a statue to Cook. *Poverty Bay Herald* 19 June 1900.

the scenario of encounter and tried strenuously to include commemoration of the role of the local South African contingent in the memorial. However, both before and after the unveiling ceremony, the local press published numerous letters criticising this approach, many of them from contingenters themselves:

> (To the Editor of the Herald.) Sir, — Referring to your leading article of yesterday's date drawing attention to the mistaken dual nature of the memorial, intentionally erected to commemorate the great historical event of the first landing of Captain Cook in New Zealand, all right-thinking persons must agree with the views expressed by you, and I, as one of the contingenters, have from the outset regretted that the names of those who fought and fell in the service of the Empire in South Africa should be perpetuated in the manner now intended. My comrades of all ranks, I am sure, will concur with me that to have our names placed upon the Cook monument is very inappropriate.[28]

It proved too late to remove the plaques with the contingenters' names from the monument before the unveiling. However, with ongoing pressure evident in further letters to the press, the plaques were eventually removed in 1912.[29]

3.4. The Cook anniversary commemoration: 1919 and the Great War

In 1919 there was little recognition of the 150th anniversary of Cook's first landing in Aotearoa New Zealand, except in Gisborne, where "a sizeable gathering participated in a commemoration at the site of the memorial marking Cook's landing place".[30] By 1919, celebrated local photographer William Crawford had died, and the paucity of photographs

[28] *Poverty Bay Herald* 8 September 1906; emphasis in the original. See also the petition in the *Poverty Bay Herald* 17 September 1906.
[29] In that year, the plaques were added to the bandstand which, for a period, served as a memorial to the local South African contingent. Wallace, E., (2020) The Gisborne Band Rotunda. [video]. *Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti Museum and Art Gallery.* Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CFJfFO2Psdg, [accessed 3 August 2020].
[30] Phillips, J. (2012) Anniversaries – Provincialism in anniversaries, 1890 to 1940. [online] *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. Available at: http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/photograph/43015/cook-anniversary-commemoration-1919, [accessed 15 June 2017].

of this event in the archives is a striking reminder of his importance in recording the events of 1905 and 1906. The major component of the memorial landscape established in 1906 – the monument to Cook – became the site of commemorative performances for the 150th anniversary of Cook's landing. There is an irony in the material legacy of this event, installed at the site as part of this commemoration: a cannon. As the press report put it: "The town's Mayor, Mr. George Wildish, unveiled a gun from the *Endeavour* amidst applause, that the town's Mr. G. J. Black had procured in Australia".[31] It has since been shown that this was not actually one of Cook's weapons.[32] As in 1906, on the 8 October 1919 a procession to the monument from the (then) town of Gisborne was organised, where speeches were made to the large crowds. On this occasion, the proceedings were presided over by Captain J. R. Kirk, well-known in Gisborne, having been its mayor, and having served in the New Zealand Wars and in WWI. The event took place under the auspices of the local branch of the Royal Colonial Institute. According to the account in the *Poverty Bay Herald*, there appears to have been a good breeze, with the many flags flying at business premises in the town, on the *Tuatea* anchored offshore, and at the site of the memorial itself. The Salvation Army band played patriotic airs including the National Anthem, and an assembly of some 2,000 people included senior pupils from the local school. Telegrams were read out from national parliamentary figures who were invited but unable to attend. A floral anchor, presented by Cook County Council, and wreaths from veterans' and other associations, and civic authorities were laid at the memorial.

In his opening speech, Captain Kirk narrated the progress of civilisation in an imperial spatial context, and this theme was followed through in all the subsequent speeches. He

[31] This and subsequent quotations in this section are from the *Poverty Bay Herald* 8 October 1919.
[32] It is now known that this was not one of Cook's weapons, since the six thrown overboard were recovered in 1969. It is stored in a shed at Te Whare Taonga Tairāwhiti Museum and Art Gallery.

opened the ceremony with reference to telegrams and previous anniversaries of Cook's landing. His remarks focus on ships, and through them illustrate the narrative of progress, with Cook's arrival as the starting point: "Captain Cook's vessel was only of 300 tons" yet "today the district was the owner of a great ship of over 10,000 tons". Mr J. S. Barton S.M., local magistrate and chairman of the Gisborne Licensing Committee, made the principal address, firstly reiterating the significance of the site and the moment: "It is a great honor that I should be asked to speak on this occasion, on this date, and at this place." The purpose of the event, he suggested was to "do honor to events that link us with a past of which we are proud". Insisting on the importance of first European contact and its relevance in connecting to a Western history, he pays tribute to Cook, "a man great enough in his ideas and performances to ensure his name being permanently recorded in the records of humane [sic] progress". It is "that great man" who was here "on the spot where we now stand," and because he was here "this particular spot shines with the reflected glory as its name and description live on the written pages that record the life of Captain Cook". In these points Mr. Barton recalled and asserted connections between Cook's greatness and "its true setting," the town of Gisborne itself. He goes on, however, to demonstrate a remarkable forgetting.

In his speech, Barton read two extracts from the 1775 edition of Cook's printed Journals. The first was dated 8 October and the second the 11 October. Of what happened in between the anchoring and the departure of the *Endeavour*, he says nothing. Of the encounters with and the killing of Māori, he says nothing. He nonetheless includes precise details of the Bay's longitude and latitude, the name that Cook gave the site, and the reasons that he did so. He also forgets (or obfuscates) the changes that have subsequently taken place in the local environment. He thus talks about the "same sandy shore … the same

hills … the same river before us". Yet in 1877, Te Toka-a-Taiau, the rock in the Tūranga River central to Cook's account of the encounter here, had been blown up by the Marine Department to facilitate the development of Gisborne's port facilities. In contrast with his selective account of the history of the site, Barton was keen to associate the commemoration with more distant events recently experienced. The "breed of our nation's men who fought at Mons and Ostend and Zeebrugge," and "the blood-stained cliffs of Gallipoli," were evoked alongside memories of Cook, his crew, and Englishmen of the time, although the former's experience of hardship was occasional, and that of the latter was "more or less constant". Here Barton was trying to make the same association between Cook and contemporary imperial themes that Townley and Gaudin had attempted in 1906.

Figure 3.21. Cook Anniversary 1919. Auckland City Libraries – Tāmaki Pātaka Kōrero, Sir George Grey Special Collections. Reference: AWNS-19191016-46-5. Photograph by C. Troughton Clark.

The commemoration of 1919 differs somewhat from the events of 1905 and 1906. The first difference is the complete absence of conflict from the narrative in the speeches. In both 1905 and 1906, euphemistic references were made in speeches and in the press to the conflict and violence that followed the *Endeavour's* landfall in 1769. That was the past, they

said, and Māori and Pākeha are now equal and happy. Whereas Māori had a role in the narratives of the past in the earlier commemorations, in the 1919 commemorations, they appear to be erased from the record completely, both historically and during the events themselves, notwithstanding their contribution to WWI.[33] There was a powerful theme in the 1919 commemoration's narrative about the nation and the colony: the nation's men, the nation as an ideal, part of the British Empire. The repeated spatial references also stand out, those to the Empire and those to the location at the spot where Cook had landed. The events of the Great War, when Australian and New Zealand forces, including Māori, travelled to Europe to support the empire, were at the heart of the formation of a new national narrative for the modern nation. The impact on the local population was disproportionally large and was long lasting (King 2003; Mein Smith 2012).

The hui aroha welcome afforded the Māori Battalion earlier in the year underlines the significance of these events locally. According to Dr Monty Soutar (Ngāti Porou)[34] the New Zealand Māori (Pioneer) Battalion was the only battalion of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force to return to New Zealand as a complete unit and on 6 April 1919, thousands turned out to give its men a rousing welcome (see figures 3.22 and 3.23). The events of WWI and their effects on both Māori and Pākehā throughout Aotearoa New Zealand, but especially in Gisborne, added significantly to the archive. Those who were present to welcome the Māori Battalion included an ethnological team from the National Museum and the Alexander Turnbull Library that filmed, photographed, and recorded the hui. Archives of the

[33] Māori fought as members of the 1st Māori Contingent at Gallipoli and in the Pioneer Battalion in France. In September 1917, the latter became a full Māori unit. The first contingent was trained, specifically to prove to Pākehā that Māori deserved equality, through the determination of the four Māori Members of Parliament, Dr Peter Buck – Te Rangi Hiroa – (Ngāti Mutunga), Apirana Ngat (Ngāti Porou), Dr Māui Pōmare (Ngāti Mutunga), and Taare Parata (Ngāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoe and Waitaha), with Sir James Carroll (Ngāti Kahungunu), (Mein Smith 2012: 134).

[34] Author of the publication Soutar, M., (2019). *Whitiki! Whiti! Whiti! E!: Māori in the First World War.* Auckland: Bateman Books, and Senior Māori Historian Manatū Taonga Ministry for Culture and Heritage.

commemorative events marking the 150th anniversary of the *Endeavour's* landfall also appear to have been deeply affected.

Figure 3.22. Māori Pioneer Battalion soldiers parading along Gladstone Road, Gisborne. Tairāwhiti Museum, Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti, Gisborne.

Figure 3.23. *Tuatea* arrives at Gisborne wharf 1919 carrying members of the Māori Pioneer Battalion. Tairāwhiti Museum, Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti, Gisborne.

This is clear in both what was said, and what was not said in the speeches, with direct references to WWI theatres of war, and the omission of any references to conflict and violence between Māori and Pākeha in 1769. While the 1919 commemoration carried forward some elements of the scenario of encounter, the impact of WWI is a reminder that scenarios themselves sit within larger histories, where the *Endeavour* voyage is overshadowed by far greater events.

3.5. Celebrating colonisation: the spectacular 1969 anniversary

One of the most striking aspects of the 200th anniversary commemoration in 1969 is the sheer quantity of printed materials produced. In addition to newspaper coverage, there was a plethora of special publications, including a locally produced booklet called *Landfall*; the official national publication *James Cook and New Zealand*; Shirley Maddock's book, *Far as a Man May Go*; a special edition of *Photo News*; a special edition of *Brewnews*, by the local Cook Brewery; various special publications by the (now) *Gisborne Herald*; and the Cook Week brochure. Commemoration went well beyond print as well: statues were erected of Cook and Young Nick, the boy who first sighted Aotearoa New Zealand from the *Endeavour*; a plaque was installed at Anaura Bay to mark the commemoration; two films were made, the New Zealand National Film Unit's 1969 film *Your Most Humble and Obedient Servant* and the USA's Fitzpatrick Pictures' 1970 *The Courageous Captain Cook*; and there was live national radio and TV coverage. There was also widespread coverage of the commemoration in the UK. This amounts to a veritable explosion of interest when compared to the preceding ten years.

In 1969, the commemorative events of the 250th anniversary of Cook's landing at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa reached the scale of the spectacular. The number and size of the events

over Cook Week, the profile of Gisborne on the national stage, the performance of international diplomacy that took place, and the focus on global relationships beyond that with Britain, were all immeasurably greater than on previous anniversaries. And yet continuity from those anniversaries in terms of the scenario of encounter that was performed is also evident. The focus on the birth of the nation is clear, giving Gisborne its unique position within the narrative. The participation of the military, particularly naval forces, was pushed for and secured. Māori people are included principally, but not exclusively, as history and as entertainment within the ceremonial elements of the main day. And, for the first time in such commemorations here, there were promotional economic activities for Gisborne under the theme of "Sellabrations".

3.5.1. The Scenes of Cook Week[35]

The Cook Week celebrations in 1969 ran over ten days from 3 to 12 October. Early in the planning process, the involvement of local clubs and societies was solicited, and many of the peripheral events of the week were organised by them. The first day, Friday, saw the start of a running relay from Government House in Wellington to Gisborne, and the opening of the annual Agricultural and Pastoral Association Show. On the Sunday morning, the running relay arrived in Gisborne and there was a historic trip to Te-Kuri-o-Pāoa (Young Nick's Head). The afternoon saw a blessing of the fishing fleet by Canon J. R. Maclean. On Monday evening there was a Māori concert. On Tuesday 7 October, the first of the naval ships, *HMCS St. Croix* of the Canadian Navy, arrived in the Port of Gisborne. The ship landed a totem pole and sailed out immediately afterwards. At 8 am on Wednesday 8 October Gisborne

[35] The details that follow of Cook Week events are drawn from the official Cook Week Programme, Gisborne District Council archives, and press reports.

witnessed a massive international naval presence in the bay and port. Ten vessels from five navies sailed into the bay, most of which came into the harbour in the afternoon and were open to visitors between 2 and 5 pm. Full page photographs of the ships featured in the official Cook Week programme. From 11 am to 9 pm, local businesses also put on their "Sellabration" animated by several military musical performances. The Gisborne Music Society organised an evening concert that included a performance by the Colson String Ensemble of the French National Orchestra. The Canadian High Commission hosted an official evening reception for invited guests only.

The main events marking the anniversary, in four distinct parts, took place on Thursday 9 October. At 9 am, there was a "Naval Celebration" at the Cook Monument involving 60 naval officers and men with an enclosure for the public. A memorial plaque was unveiled during the ceremonies. The rest of the morning was dedicated to the "Public Civic Ceremony of Welcome to Official Visitors," which took place in Gisborne from 10:15 am. Again this was dominated by the military presence. The naval representatives marched onto the parade ground along with the Royal New Zealand Infantry and the Royal Guard. The audience was reminded of protocol when the Royal Colour passes – to stand if seated, and for gentlemen to remove their hats if worn. The arrival of Prime Minister Sir Keith Holyoake and Mrs Holyoake was followed by the Governor General Baron Arthur Porritt and Lady Porritt. The Governor General inspected the Guard of Honour and then took the salute as the various military contingents marched past with their military bands.

Figure 3.24. Cook Bicentenary 1969. Navy on parade. 063/GN. Tairāwhiti Museum, Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti, Gisborne.

Figure 3.25. The Original People presented by The Māori Community. Cook Bicentenary 1969. 063/13. Tairāwhiti Museum, Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti, Gisborne.

Figure 3.26. From Cook to Mars with the Herald. Cook Bicentenary 1969. 063/22. Tairāwhiti Museum, Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti, Gisborne.

A procession of 100 floats followed the military parade. At its head were a group of what was described in press reports as *The Original People* presented by *The Māori Community* (figure 3.25), and *Meeting House and Canoe* presented by *The Māori peoples of Tokamaru Bay, Ruatoria, and Chaffey's Transport*. Many of the other floats focused on Cook or the *Endeavour*, including *Landing of Captain Cook*, *Transit of Venus*, *All Discovery Requires Endeavour*, *Replica of the Endeavour*, *Young Nick*, *Captain Cook and the Maori*, *Cook and the Maori*, *Banks and Solander*, *Missionaries with the Maoris*, *From Cook to Boeing 737*, and *From Cook to Mars with the Herald* (figure 3.26). Many others celebrated the pioneering period and activities such as pit sawing, antique fire pumps, historic telephones, and the emblematic, *Pioneering*. There was a theme of progress and development, as some of the foregoing float names imply. Others were of a paramilitary nature including a range

of marching bands; imperial and national symbolism was evident. The Gisborne Chinese Association also had two entries: a truck and band and a carnival lion.

This extensive, but by no means exhaustive, account of themes and floats clearly demonstrates that what was being celebrated in this procession was not simply Cook as an historical figure, but the contemporary settler community and aspects of its culture, economy, and politics. While Māori are not totally absent, their presence is mainly associated with the past. A Māori interviewee remembered attending the event and being handed a Union Flag. They reflected on how the significance of what was happening only became clear many years later:

> The 1969 thing, … We came down here, it was our one trip to Gisborne for the year, for the great event. You know, you're thrown in the mix, you hold the flag, [laughs], my sister won one of the memorial plates of the time, and all that sort of thing, and you do those things because that's what people are doing, and you don't fully understand, until later on of course, and then you take another viewpoint.[36]

The Official Government Function of Commemoration was held in the afternoon and attendance was by invitation. This started with the march onto the ground of the Honour Guard and other military units, and the arrival of the Prime Minister and his wife. At 3 pm, a fanfare announced the arrival of the Governor General. On arrival, he received a "Māori Ceremonial Welcome consisting of a challenge haka and pōwhiri". The performances of the Māori pōwhiri are recorded in photographs of the day's events (see figure 3.27) as well as audio recordings. Those present were again informed of protocol, being invited to stand at this point and wait for the Governor General to sit before retaking their seats. There was a royal salute, a 21-gun salute and a flypast by the Royal New Zealand Air Force. Speeches

[36] Interview 9, 2 November 2018.

followed by the Prime Minister, the Leader of the Opposition Mr Kirk, and Te Ara Hanara Tangiawha Te Ohaki,[37] and finally the Governor General, who relayed a message from the Queen. The New Zealand National Anthem was sung, followed by four songs sung by the assembled schoolchildren, two in te reo Māori and two in English. The final event of the day was a fireworks display, "expected to be one of the largest pyrotechnic displays the nation has seen".

Figure 3.27. Cook Bicentenary 1969 063/5N Governor General Porritt. Tairāwhiti Museum, Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti, Gisborne.

Another full day of official events took place on Friday 10 October. These are notable firstly because they marked the inscription of the events on the landscape through the

[37] Also known as Mr Arnold Reedy, (Ngāti Porou),who was chosen by Te Tairāwhiti iwi to speak on their behalf.

unveiling of new monuments: the statue of Cook unveiled at Cook Plaza, Titirangi Maunga, Kaiti Hill, the statue of Young Nick at Young Nick's Playground, and the presentation of a totem pole by the Canadian High Commissioner to the Prime Minister for the people of New Zealand. [38] It is also worth noting that as part of the anniversary events, the land on which the original Cook memorial was erected in 1906, donated by Mrs Carroll, was gifted to the nation by Gisborne Council. The day concluded with a bicentenary ball in the evening, which the Governor General attended. The second significant event of this day was the visit by part of the naval presence to Anaura Bay for a ceremony held there. This geographical extension of the events marking the anniversary was absent from the previous anniversaries described in this chapter. On the Saturday there was an Air Pageant organised by the local Gisborne Aero Club in association with the Royal New Zealand Air Force. The week concluded with a Community Act of Worship, which included a re-enactment of the "Coming of Christianity to the East Coast".

Several exhibitions were organised to mark the commemoration, including *Face to Face: The Birthpangs of a Multiracial Nation*. This was an exhibition of paintings, drawings, prints, and photographs by Frank Davis, which stands out for its decentring of Cook and the *Endeavour*. As figures 3.28 and 3.29 show, central subjects were the Land Wars and "Maori prophet and guerrilla leader Te Kooti Arikirangi te Turuki".[39]

[38] Letters indicate that there were no plans for a statue of Cook less than a year before the anniversary, indeed that the very idea was not welcome. On 22 October 1968, Mayor Barker wrote to stamp and coin designer Mr. J. Berry OBE: "The present indications are that the local committee is opposed to anything in the form of monuments". It is surprising then that three were eventually installed and unveiled during the commemorations.

[39] Te Kooti Arikirangi te Tūruki was a very significant person in the history of Aotearoa New Zealand, especially in Te Tairāwhiti, the East Coast. For a brief introduction, see his entry on *Te Ara, The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*: https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t45/te-kooti-arikirangi-te-turuki. For a more detailed study, see Binney, J., (1997). *Redemption Songs: A Life of the Nineteenth-century Māori Leader Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

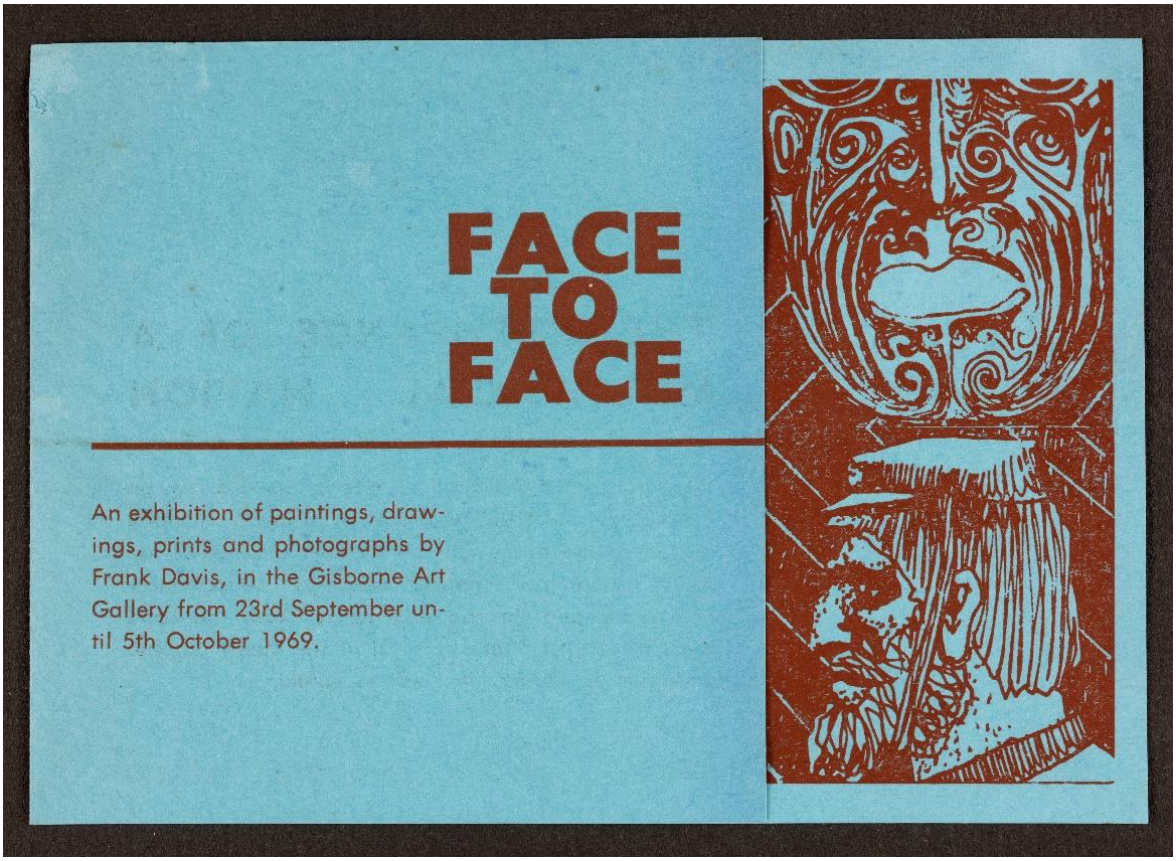

Figure 3.28. *Face to Face: An exhibition of paintings, drawings, prints and photographs by Frank Davis.* Verso. Tairāwhiti Museum, Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti, Gisborne.

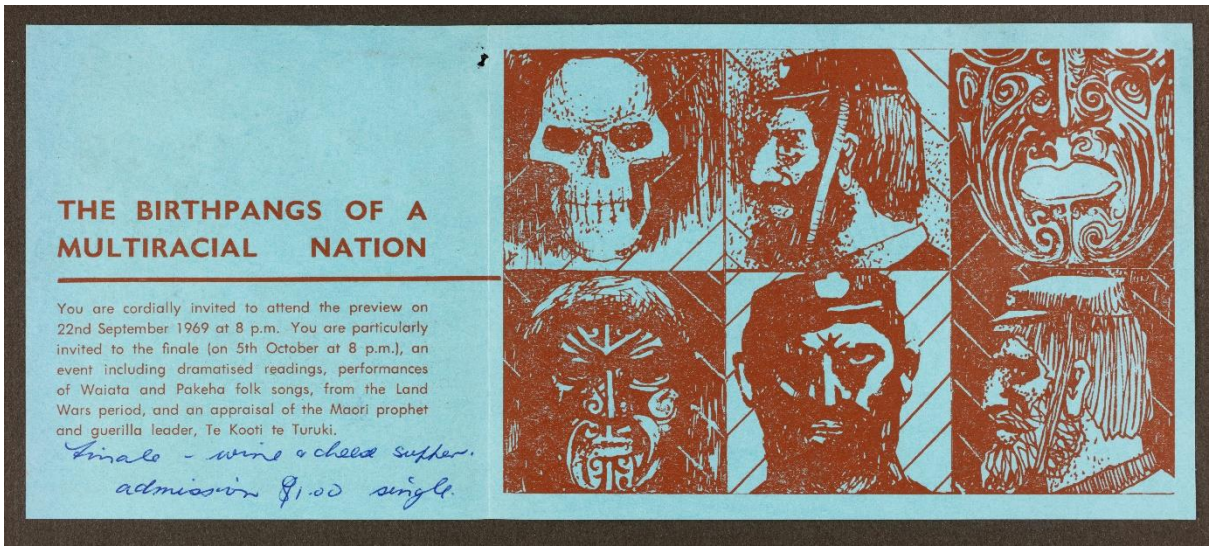

Figure 3.29. *Face to Face: An exhibition of paintings, drawings, prints and photographs by Frank Davis.* Recto. Tairāwhiti Museum, Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti, Gisborne.

3.5.2. Behind the Scenes

The above description has focused on the 1969 commemorative events themselves, as reported in the press and documented in the photographic and audio records. What more can archival research tell us about their planning and framing and the involvement of Māori in those processes? Following a brief introduction to the chronology of the planning process, I focus here on the local debate about staging a re-enactment to draw out distinctions in Māori – Pākeha relationships at different scales and to understand how these distinctions were spatially and temporally asserted in the events described above.

In 1966, the Minister of Internal Affairs had opened the process for local bodies to express interest in celebrating the 200th anniversary of Cook's landing in Aotearoa New Zealand. First contacts with the Gisborne authorities by correspondence appear to have been made in the autumn of that year, when formal planning of the events started with the setting up of a steering committee in September 1966. Mr W. Hudson, Town Clerk, and Gisborne's Mayor Harry Barker were the principal correspondents for the Cook Bicentenary Committee. The first public meeting to form this committee was held on 9 September 1966. Mr H. K. Ngata of the Tairāwhiti District Māori Council attended among representatives from fourteen organisations. At the next public meeting on 26 September, between twenty and thirty organisations were represented. The meeting was opened by the Mayor, who immediately invited Mrs. Tombleson MP to address the meeting. She stated that "in any committee set up to organise the celebrations there should be representatives of the Māori Race".[40] A resolution was passed to form a steering committee of twenty and it was further agreed that "the government be advised that a strong committee has been set up to

[40] Minutes of the public meeting of 26 September 1966.

organise the national celebration of the landing of Captain James Cook at Gisborne and asks for the maximum cooperation from the government in ensuring that the celebrations are an outstanding success". The word 'celebrations' was to be used throughout the planning process and the events themselves.

On 3 November 1966, Hudson wrote to Mr. Ngata to press for a Tairāwhiti District Māori Council representative for the Cook committee and to advise of the forthcoming meeting of 14 November. Mr. G. Sidney (Tairāwhiti District Māori Council secretary) replied on 7 November, notifying Mr. Hudson that their representative would be Mr. Peter Kaua.[41] He was present at the inaugural committee meeting on 14 November, when it was decided to form an executive committee of twelve, with seven from this meeting and the chair with authority to add a further five. The members of the steering committee included Mr Kaua as Mrs Tombleson had hoped. The seven members of the executive appointed at the meeting also included Mr Kaua. The next meeting of the executive on 29 November set out an extensive range of ideas.[42] Most of the major elements that would eventually be included were raised here, such as sporting events, naval ships, a procession of floats, and a national holiday. Many other suggestions were put forward that did not make it to the final plans, including the presence of a replica *Endeavour* and premieres by cultural organisations such as the national ballet company. Committee Meetings took place throughout the build up to the bicentenary, and included those of various sub-committees, focused for example on

[41] Pita Tipunakore Kaua (Ngāti Porou) 1909-1989. Mr Kaua was a significant public figure, noted for his sporting excellence as well as his extensive public service. He represented Aotearoa New Zealand in rugby, golf, and tennis. He served in the 28th Battalion New Zealand Expeditionary Force in WWII and held numerous public offices including Clerk of Court in Wellington, Senior Welfare Officer for the Māori Affairs Department in Gisborne, Justice of the Peace, and parish secretary at St Mary's in Gisborne. He had a deep love of the arts, especially singing and haka. He wrote many articles on te reo Māori and Māori land issues, (Underhill, Bridget, based on correspondence from Peggy Kaua on 31 July 1998: https://komako.org.nz/person/449).
[42] Minutes of the Cook Bicentenary Celebrations Committee 29 November 1966.

publicity and finance, and, significantly, liaison meetings with national government. Records of all these meetings are held in Gisborne District Council's archives.

The idea of a re-enactment was mentioned by several of the participants in the meeting of the Cook Bicentenary Celebrations Committee on 29 November 1966, with at least one person at this first meeting (Captain MacRae) considering it to be "essential".[43] Mr J. B. Williams mentioned having been present at the unveiling of the existing monument in 1906 when there were naval ships in the bay. It was suggested that newspaper reports of that ceremony should be studied. He suggested a re-enactment of the landing with a Māori challenge and a race meeting. The subject of a re-enactment became a frequent topic of conversation at subsequent meetings, with divergent views becoming increasingly apparent. For example, at a meeting on 8 June 1967, when a Māori village was also one of the suggestions put forward, a very different approach to a re-enactment is recorded. "Discussion took place as to whether the events should include a re-enactment of the landing or not. Mr Russell suggested that instead of having a re-enactment of the landing we should arrange for the Royal Visitor to arrive by ship on that morning and be given a Māori welcome, with the official ceremony to follow."[44] At a meeting on 24 July 1967 the agreed draft programme included a Māori concert on the Sunday evening, a possible Māori village, and the re-enactment was back on the agenda. [45] By 21 March 1968, the sensitivities of Māori were raised as an objection to the re-enactment:

[43] *Ibid.*
[44] Minutes of celebrations sub-committee meeting on 8 June 1967. At this stage, it was hoped that a member of the Royal Family would attend the celebrations as part of a tour including Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand to mark the anniversary. The Queen, Prince Philip, Prince Charles, and Princess Anne did tour Australia in 1970, but not travel to Aotearoa New Zealand.
[45] Report from the Executive to the Cook Bicentenary Celebrations Committee 24 July 1967.

> Mr Reeves stated that he considered a re-enactment of the landing would cause distress to the descendants of the Māoris killed. Mr Kaua supported this point of view.
>
> Mr Steele contended that a fitting Māori welcome tendered to an important personage would be more suitable.
>
> Mr Russell explained his reasons for suggesting the symbolic re-enactment and explained what he meant.
>
> Mr Dare attending from the Internal Affairs Department … Regarding a re-enactment he stated that it is not their job to ask for this but they would be willing to enquire as to the National Committee's reaction. It would probably be a local decision and in view of the remarks passed that evening there could be opposition to it.[46]

In the end, the re-enactment did not go ahead. Given other comments from and decisions by the Internal Affairs Department, covered below, it is tempting to conclude that their intervention was significant in reinforcing local Māori opposition to the idea. Through this debate, we can begin to see a distinction between local and national interests, one that would firmly assert itself as planning proceeded, and would be evident during Cook Week.

Mayor Barker seems to have had a clear vision from the outset that Gisborne would host the national celebrations. As noted above, among his first acts following the public meeting were ensuring the government was contacted to announce the creation of a strong committee and asserting that Gisborne would be the site of national celebrations. From the inter-departmental committee minutes and other documents, it is clear that events were rapidly being planned in other places that the *Endeavour* visited. The correspondence also suggests that the local committee was running ahead of the National Committee in the early stages, with letters from the Mayor pushing for more funding, and even pushing military

[46] Minutes of Cook Bicentenary Celebrations Committee 21 March 1968.

commanders to increase their commitment.[47] As planning progressed, however, and certainly by February of 1969, there are clear signs of the National Committee asserting control of aspects of the events that were important to them, particularly those which constituted diplomacy. These included relationships with Māori, and, not unrelated, the nation's image, both to itself and to its international audiences.[48] The above intervention on the proposed re-enactment is an example of the focus on relationships with Māori; there were others. In relation to the national image, the National Committee took full control of a symbolic time period during Cook week, on the anniversary of the first landing, clearly partitioning the national element of the programme from the rest of the week with the clear stamp of authority and diplomacy.

At the meeting on 9 February 1969 the national presence was substantial. There were two representatives of the Department of Internal Affairs, Messers O'Dea and Johnson, a Mr Horan from the Publicity Department, and two Commanders from the Navy – Smith and Evans. Mr O'Dea gave an outline of their plans, clearly distinguishing between those elements to be hosted by the local committee and those to be hosted by the government. The details of the national programme were now very well-developed. A Māori challenge would start off the government-hosted event in the afternoon at Rugby Park. After an inspection by a guard of honour, followed by either an Air Force fly past or an Army artillery salute, would come speeches by the Prime Minister, Leader of the Opposition and "a Māori representative," followed by children singing, possibly "in English and Māori together". [49]

[47] Letters from W. Hudson (Town Clerk) to the Chief of the Naval Staff and Chief of the Air Staff 29 November 1967; to the British High Commissioner 7 February 1968; and to the Secretary of Defence 17 January 1969 – "The celebrations committee here is hoping for larger participation than that outlined in your letter and hopes that all three services will take part."
[48] Many international dignitaries, mostly ambassadors to Aotearoa New Zealand, attended the celebrations from countries including Australia, Britain, India, the Netherlands, and Switzerland.
[49] Minutes of the Cook Bicentenary Celebrations Committee 17 February 1969.

Two models of the *Endeavour* were to be installed on Gladstone Road at its junctions with Peel Street and Grey Street. Mr Burland suggested having Navy only representatives speaking only about Cook at the memorial, and that the churches should be involved; both suggestions were adopted. This spatial distinction between the events at the Cook Monument and those in the city reinforces the interpretation that the national staff were keen to avoid controversy and discord with the Māori communities. This intent was confirmed at another government inter-departmental committee meeting held on 16 May 1969, at which the Department of Māori Affairs was represented by Mr W. Herewini. [50] The minutes note that:

> The local Māoris did not want a re-enactment of Cook's arrival as there had been some violence. It had been suggested that a meeting in peace should be the emphasis. One suggestion had been for a small Māori group – perhaps a challenge.
>
> The Prime Minister will be the host for this occasion. Mr Herewini said that there would be one challenge and the man has been chosen. The Māori participation would be in line with the wishes of the local Māori people. The proposed party was 120 strong at the moment, but they would like to make it larger, perhaps 150. A great deal would depend on finance. The question of Government providing piupius had not been decided yet.[51] […] The speakers would include the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition. Mr O'Dea will discuss the question of a suitable Māori speaker further with the Secretary for Māori Affairs and the Prime Minister's approval will be obtained before any approach is made. The Governor-General will give a special message from the Queen.[52]

The minutes thus reveal a distinction between this approach to Māori involvement and that locally, expressed by Mr Hudson and Mayor Barker. At the Interdepartmental Meeting on 6 June 1969, Mr Herewini (Māori and Island Affairs) and Mr Hudson were present:

[50] William Herewini was controller of Māori welfare at the department of Māori and Island Affairs, and a long-serving member of the NZ Returned Services Association. He served in the 28 Māori Battalion in WWII and was a prisoner of war from 1941-45.
[51] A piupiu is a skirt-like garment made of flax strands that hang from a belt worn in performances.
[52] Notes of the meeting of the Inter-Departmental Working Committee 16 May 1969.

> Mr Herewini … asked who was the local Māori representative on the Gisborne committee. Mr Hudson said that it was a Mr Kaua. Mr Herewini said he felt there should be more liaison between Māori Affairs and the local committee and he suggested that the local Māori Welfare Officer might be invited to attend their meetings. Mr Hudson said he would approach Mr Kaua to see if he could get in touch with the officer, Mr A Baker on this matter. Captain Anderson would be discussing the question of Māori participation and timing with the Māori group in Gisborne.[53]

A fortnight later, at the Interdepartmental Meeting of 19 June 1969, Mr Herewini, Mr Hudson, and this time Mayor Barker were present. Under the item Navy Ceremony of Commemoration, "Mr Herewini asked what form the Māori participation would take. He stressed that he thought a Māori challenge inappropriate in view of the challenge for the Governor-General later in the morning. Mr Barker said that he thought local Māoris would be involved with preparing floats etc. and would not be attending this function".[54] Speeches for the Civic Reception in the morning, with the mayor as host were not planned to include Māori. "Mr Herewini asked: (1) Whether a Māori elder will accompany the Governor-General? and, (2) Who it would be? The Department [of the Internal Affairs] will raise this matter officially with Māori Affairs." When Mr Herewini followed up the question of liaison between Māori Affairs and the local Gisborne committee, Mayor Barker replied that "he felt the local liaison was very satisfactory".[55] In the letter to the celebrations committee within days of this meeting, Mr Hudson made no mention of a Māori representative speaking at the official function at Rugby Park, while he did mention the other three identified in Wellington at the inter-departmental meeting. There is also no mention of the Māori welcome in the morning or afternoon.[56] These meeting minutes suggest that the National

[53] Notes of the meeting of the Inter-Departmental Working Committee 6 June 1969.
[54] Notes of the meeting of the Inter-Departmental Working Committee 19 June 1969.
[55] *Ibid.*
[56] Letter from W. Hudson to the Chairman and Members of the Cook Bicentenary celebrations Committee 23 June 1969.

Committee, bolstered by Mr Herewini, was keenly aware of the importance in these national events of the role of local iwi and the yet un-named "Māori representative". The minutes also suggest that there was a distinct difference between the role that Māori would hold in the national part of the events and that they would hold in the local events. Far greater prominence was being actively set up in the national events, whereas the prominence of Māori in the local ceremonial events was being actively discouraged. That said, it is worth noting that greater Māori participation was being planned beyond the ceremonial events of Cook Week itself. The annual programme also included, in May (9-11) a "NZ Māori Council 'Meet the People' Conference". In July, two rugby matches involved Māori: Southern Māori versus Northern Māori for the Prince of Wales Cup and NZ Māori versus Poverty Bay. There was also a conference planned for the same month: the "Māori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference".[57]

The role of local Māori representative Mr Kaua draws attention to the focus of discussions about the involvement of local Māori. Mr Kaua was present at the first steering committee meeting of 14 November 1966, where he said that "Māoris would cooperate in anything that was decided. He referred to a Māori concert and culture and the Māoris would assist in any landing ceremony. They would take part in any sporting events, and mentioned especially the Māori Tennis team, and would assist in any entertainment."[58] At the next annual meeting of the overall steering committee, on 1 June 1967, Mr Kaua was again present. The minutes note: "Mr Kaua felt that local bodies should give a bigger lead with financial assistance and government contacts. He sought more specific directions on

[57] Press Release from Gisborne Community Public Relations Office "Cook Year in Gisborne Schedule of Activities". No date, but almost certainly April 1969.
[58] Minutes of the Cook Bicentenary Celebrations Steering Committee 14 November 1966.

what he should do and what was expected of his people."[59] The next meeting on 27 March also shows Mr Kaua in attendance. Mr Jennings (of the entertainment sub-committee) reported that

> the Weihirere Concert Party had organised the Māori concert on the Sunday evening. The party had been increased in strength to put on fitting performances at the celebration on 9th October and wanted assistance with costumes. Mr Kaua spoke in support of a contribution of $250, to which the finance committee agreed. The Town Clerk wrote to the Weihirere Concert Party confirming that it was the Committee's wish that it organise these functions.[60]

On 4 April 1968, Mr Kaua was again present, where a letter from the Art Gallery and Museum with their proposals was presented.[61] The art proposals refer only to European art, and the museum proposals again cast Māori firmly in a historical context, firstly proposing a diorama of Māori agriculture, with its planting and harvesting rituals; and secondly the Māori crafts of carving and weaving. At the next meeting on 1 May 1969, Mr Kaua was once again present. The committee regretted that the museum did not have anything on a Cook theme planned for Cook week. Notably, "Mr J.B. Williams asked whether anything had been done to recognise the efforts of the early Māori explorers. The Mayor intimated that nothing had been done regarding this".[62]

The focus of these discussions and decisions on the locally hosted events contrasts with those in the national, government-hosted events described above. What is apparent is the way the local representation of Māori seems to be restricted to a historical or entertainment role, in contrast to the diplomatic role within the national events. This contrast is also apparent in the inscription of the events in publications (other than

[59] Minutes of the Cook Bicentenary Celebrations Steering Committee 1 June 1967.
[60] Minutes of the Cook Bicentenary Celebrations Steering Committee 27 March 1968.
[61] Letter from Nancy M. Patterson, Secretary, Gisborne Art Society to W. Hudson 13 November 1968.
[62] Minutes of the Cook Bicentenary Celebrations Steering Committee 1 May 1969.

newspapers) and in the monumental legacy of the bicentenary. At a meeting on 21 March 1968, the committee agreed to the plans for a Captain Cook Park "as a national bicentenary memorial" on Titirangi Maunga.[63] At the meeting on 15 August 1968. the idea of a prestige book (booklet) on Gisborne and the Captain Cook Bicentenary was discussed.[64] Several monuments were installed in the community. For example, the official opening of the James Cook High School in Manuwera took place in May 1969 and the school was presented with a statue of Captain Cook. The now infamous Crook Cook statue was installed at Titirangi Maunga and unveiled by Governor General Porritt during his visit to Gisborne for the Bicentenary. This was later revealed to bear no resemblance to Cook, either facially or in the Italian naval uniform that the statue is depicted wearing.[65] A statue of Young Nick was installed, sponsored by the New Zealand Insurance Company and also unveiled by the Governor General. The two models of the *Endeavour* discussed earlier were installed on Gladstone Road.[66] Both the statue of Cook and the *Endeavour* models would haunt the 250th anniversary in 2019. Once memories of Cook Week 1969 had faded, its most visible traces in landscape and print would reinforce a particular and simplified view of history, and of the local rather than the national image of relationships between Māori and Pākeha evident in the commemorative events.

[63] Minutes of Cook Bicentenary Celebrations Committee 21 March 1968.
[64] This was published in 1969 as "*Landfall*". Logan, R. and Logan, J., (1969). *Landfall: 1769, Captain Cook at Poverty Bay, Anaura Bay and Tolaga Bay*. Gisborne: Cook Bicentenary Committee.
[65] Later, a new plaque was erected on the statue's plinth. This was one of many interventions, most of the others were clandestine. This most visible of monumental presences in the landscape generated many performances of protest (figure 3.4.). The statue was removed to Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti Museum and Art Gallery in 2019, where it joined 'Cook's canon' that had been installed at the Cook Monument in 1919.
[66] "The two original *Endeavour* models, built from lightweight marine plywood, were installed in 1969 for the 200th anniversary of James Cook's landing at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa/Poverty Bay. The models were expected to be temporary but remained on poles in Gladstone Road until they were replaced in 1978 by models built by Gisborne Boys' High School students. Those models were refurbished in 1999 and again in 2010, before being taken down in 2016 because they were falling apart." Van Delden, A. (2020) Do models of the *Endeavour* belong in Gisborne? [online]. *Radio New Zealand*, available at: https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/422552/do-models-of-the-endeavour-belong-in-gisborne, [accessed 13 August 2020].

3.5.3. Scenes of Change

In the planning and realisation of these commemorative events, the dominant partners were the state at national level and the district council-led committee at local level, and the dominant theme was the settler nation. The military presence was massive through the participation of navies from several countries and of the Royal New Zealand Air Force. Such a dominant military presence was an initiative actively, even persistently pursued by the local committee driven by Mayor Barker. It was clear from the start that his vision for the anniversary events was that they should be celebrations that used Cook to put Gisborne on the national and international stage.

Below the radar of the headline events, there was a focus at national level of the need to approach state-Māori relationships with care. Whether this was motivated by concern for Māori, or to present an image of racial harmony on such an international stage, both, or something else entirely, remain open questions. Whatever the motivation, this focus ran in parallel with Gisborne's local dynamics and resulted in a contemporary national and international diplomatic role in addition to the often historic, cultural one realised in the local events. Yet the perception among Māori in the present can be different. For example, one of my interviewees in 2018 was convinced that little or no contact had been made with local Māori in the planning of the 1969 events until the last minute.[67] The evidence from the archives suggests otherwise. Local Māori were represented at executive committee level. The governmental liaison committee was strongly influenced by the government's Māori advisor, Mr Herewini, reflecting both national and local voices and opinions. The clearest impact of these voices is the decision that there should be no re-enactment of Cook's

[67] Interview 12, 8 November 2018.

landing, because of the violence used against Māori by the Endeavours. The government also took the diplomatic lead in State-Māori relations for the national celebrations. This is in stark contrast with the presence of Māori in the locally hosted events on the Thursday, mainly limited to entertainment and participation in the procession. Different places were used differently to accommodate these different approaches. The Civic Welcome and the Official Government Function took place at different sites. Rugby Park, where the latter took place, was treated as a marae. This meant that the Governor General took part in a wero and pōwhiri with the representatives of Tairāwhiti iwi leading that process.[68] The Navy dominated the ceremony at the Cook Monument and iwi did not participate there. The commemorations 30 miles up the coast at Ūawa were organised by a separate committee.

The archives document the involvement of Māori representatives, and consideration of Māori sensitivities, behind the scenes of the events themselves. However, the printed archive and the monuments themselves constitute a Pākeha dominated perspective. The locally published *Landfall* for example, with mainly photographic content, includes captions such as: "The Maoris today… are happily integrated in the European way of life;" "today, white man and Māori work together on farm and in factory, shop and office, each to his skill;" and "The native fires have long since died out".[69] The installation of the Cook statue as part of a Cook Plaza on Titirangi Maunga, and of two models of the *Endeavour* on the streets are also stark reminders of the dominance of settler community identity in the published archive and local landscape that resulted from the bicentenary events. The experience of those present sowed the seeds for a very different marking of the 250th anniversary in 2019; seeds that grew during the cultural and political sea changes of the intervening decades.

[68] See figure 3.27 and hear extracts from recordings made of the wero and pōwhiri on the day at: https://ngataonga.org.nz/collections/catalogue/catalogue-item?record_id=230786.
[69] Logan, R. and Logan, J., (1969).

3.6. Tuia – Encounters 250: 2019

Tuia te muka tangata ki uta – Weaving people together for a shared future

Figure 3.30. Tuia – Encounters 250 Logo. Courtesy of Manatū Taonga Ministry for Culture and Heritage

In this section, I outline the official programme of the commemorative events of 2019 in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, its dominant narratives, and some of the protests and dissent that accompanied them. I then look beyond these narratives to examine the challenges offered to the scenario of encounter as it had appeared in the previous commemorations that I have looked at in this chapter. In doing so, I draw from the interviews that I conducted in Aotearoa New Zealand in October-November 2018, as well as from coordinating organisation websites (Te Hā Trust, Tuia 250), and the extensive press and radio material, notably the *Gisborne Herald* and *Radio New Zealand*, as well as official video material published by the *Gisborne Herald* and *Tuia – Encounters 250* on facebook and YouTube.

3.6.1. Scenes of Encounter

The official opening events for the Tuia – Encounters 250 commemoration of *Endeavour's* landfall and celebration of Polynesian voyaging took place between 5 and 8 October at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa. They started with a pōwhiri by Tūranga iwi for the flotilla of three Polynesian ocean-going vessels: two waka houroua from Aotearoa New Zealand, *Haunui*

and *Ngahiraka Mai Tawhiti*, and a Tahitian va'a tipaerua, *Fa'afaite*. These three waka were joined in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa on 8 October by a flotilla of three tall ships: The *R. Tucker Thompson*, the *Spirit of New Zealand,* and the replica of the *Endeavour*, when a civic welcome took place (see figures 3.31-3.33). British High Commissioner Laura Clarke was there with her family for the first arrival. Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern was also present for the first pōwhiri. but "scheduling issues" prevented her from being present for the civic welcome, where Minister for Te Kāhui Hīkina, Māori Crown Relations: Te Arawhiti, the Hon. Kelvin Davis, (Ngāpuhi) also Minister responsible for Tuia – Encounters 250, represented the government.

The first arrival was dramatic. Five fires were lit in different parts of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, the first on Puhi Kai Iti (Kaiti Beach) shortly before dawn. The waka flotilla sailed to the five points across the bay, performing a narrative of Polynesian settlement:

> Known as ahika, burning symbols of continuous occupation, the fires were lit in sequence at historically significant sites as the waka approached Wherowhero Lagoon. The first fire was lit at Puhi Kai Iti, commonly known as Kaiti Beach. This is where Maia landed in the waka *Te Ikaroa-a-Rauru*, bringing hue (gourds) and planting knowledge to these shores. Cook's ship *Endeavour* also anchored offshore here in 1769.
>
> The fire lit at Wherowhero Lagoon signified the *Horouta* waka which was captained by Kiwa and is buried at the lagoon. As the waka sailed back towards Waikanae Beach fires were lit in sequence on either side of the Waipaoa River. Just south of the river mouth is where Paoa waited for the crew of *Horouta*. When the flotilla arrived at Te Waiohiharore (The Cut) the vessels paused as crew acknowledged Te Rakau who was fatally shot on October 9, 1769.[70]

[70] *Gisborne Herald* 5 October 2019.

Figure 3.31. Official welcome at Tūranganui. Courtesy of the *Gisborne Herald*.

Figure 3.32. Official welcome at Tūranganui. Courtesy of the *Gisborne Herald*.

Figure 3.33. Official welcome at Tūranganui. Courtesy of the *Gisborne Herald*.

Figure 3.34. Tuia – Encounters 250 Flotilla. Courtesy of Manatū Taonga Ministry for Culture and Heritage.

Figure 3.35. *HMB Endeavour* replica. Courtesy of Australian National Maritime Museum.

Figure 3.36. Protests at Tūranganui. Courtesy of the *New Zealand Herald*, photograph by Will Trafford.

The two pōwhiri that took place were emotional events for many, not least Tūranga iwi and hapū. Daniel Procter (Ngāti Uepoatu, Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, Ngāti Rangiiwaho) said of the first: "This is a huge rollercoaster of emotion for us here, for the tribes of Tūranga, represented here today. So it's been a great day today representing our ancestors and building a pathway forward."[71] Coordinators expressed overwhelmingly positive sentiments reflecting on the day. "Te Hā Trust general manager Glenis Philip-Barbara said organisers were 'delighted' with how the event turned out. 'What stood out from the speeches and the participation is that it was a real coming together of the entire community in a most powerful way. The feeling, the positivity, and the goodwill amongst the people was palpable – you could feel it in the air. The iwi called for their community to come and we came – and this was just the beginning.'"[72]

A symposium was held in Gisborne on 6 and 7 October 2019: *Te paepae o Tangaroa Symposium, Moananui: The Ocean Speaks*. A spatial reframing, a focus on the future, and the aim of offering common visions to the whole country and its Pacific networks are clearly conveyed in the event's publicity:

> The ocean that connects our coastlines also connects us as people all faced with a rapidly changing environment. We started with a wealth of local knowledge from people doing critical work in Tairāwhiti and around Aotearoa. We then heard from inspirational environmental leaders from Tahiti, the Cook Islands and Samoa, all doing ground-breaking work for their own communities. [73]

[71] Emotional welcome at Tuia 250 commemoration in Gisborne, (2019). [Video] *New Zealand Herald Gisborne Herald*. Available at: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12273921, [accessed 13 September 2020].
[72] *Emotional Pōhiri Marks the Start of Tuia 250 Commemorations.* [Video] Gisborne Herald. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iPFB9k3ikz8, [accessed 6 August 2020].
[73] *The Ocean Speaks Te Paepae o Tangaroa, Oceans Symposium*. October 6 and 7 2019 Gisborne Tairāwhiti. Available at: https://www.theoceanspeaks.nz/, [accessed 13 November 2020].

Over the next two months, the national programme focused on the Tuia 250 Voyage of the flotilla to 14 sites around the country, including the four key landing sites that the *Endeavour* had visited in 1769-70: Tūranganui-a-Kiwa Poverty Bay, Meretoto Ship Cove, Whitianga Mercury Bay, and Opua Bay of Islands.[74] A typical visit to one of the many sites on the programme included opportunities to crew the flotilla's vessels, to be guided around them when moored, and to learn about navigation from an educational roadshow. Around 27,000 young people and their families took part in activities which:

> celebrated the expertise and knowledge of Pacific voyagers and navigators, and explored relationships between sea, land, and people. It also looked into the changes in these relationships following the arrival of Europeans, identified the richness of diversity today, and invited participants to share their views on how our future might look.[75]

The role of Te Moananui also features strongly in the six legacies that Tuia – Encounters 250 focused on: education, waka revitalisation, markers at sites of significance, dual heritage place names, and healing relationships.[76]

While the official Tuia commemoration started on 5 October at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, significant performative events began much earlier. On 20 August, *Fa'afaite* sailed from Tahiti, arriving in Aotearoa New Zealand on 13 September having travelled 4,300 Km (2,700 miles) using traditional navigation.[77] The two waka hourua from Aotearoa New Zealand

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[74] For an overview and details of the whole voyage around Aotearoa New Zealand, see *Land of Voyagers* [online]. Available at: https://www.thevoyage.co.nz/en/landing, [accessed 13 November 2020].
[75] Tuia Mātauranga Education Programme, (2019). [online]. Available at: https://www.tuiaeducation.org.nz/roadshow, [accessed 13 November 2020].
[76] Whakareretanga Legacy (2019) [online]. Available at : https://mch.govt.nz/tuia250/legacy, [accessed 13 November 2020].
[77] "Fa'afaite means reconciliation, which reflects our desire to reconcile man with nature, his culture and his ancestral roots," Fa'afaite – Tahiti Voyaging Society; https://www.thevoyage.co.nz/en/vessels/faafaite, [accessed 9 August 2020]. "*Fa'afaite* was one of the seven traditional Polynesian sailing canoes of the *Te Mana o Te Moana* (Spirit of the Ocean) fleet that sailed during 2011-2012, visiting fifteen Pacific nations, reviving voyaging culture and advocating ocean conservation. The *Te Mana o Te Moana* voyage was sponsored entirely by Okeanos Foundation. The vaka was crewed by Pacific islanders from eleven nations (Fiji, the Cook Islands, Samoa, French Polynesia, New Zealand, Tonga, Kiribati, Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu and

welcomed and joined *Fa'afaite* to form the waka flotilla, which sailed to sites of ancient and cultural significance to Tāngata Moana and Māori including Whangaparāoa (East Cape), landing site for Polynesian voyagers during the discovery of Aotearoa; Te Aurere (Northland), where Sir Hekenukumai Busby (Te Rararwa, Ngāti Kahu) revitalised ocean voyaging for Māori; and other sites around Aotearoa New Zealand that mark the arrivals of ancestral waka, including Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa. The geographical and temporal positioning of these events was an active part of the reframing of the official events in the repertoire, a performative act demonstrating the Polynesian voyaging tradition's precedence, and of the links between Tāngata Moana.

Much of the most prominent discourse reinforced this performative reframing, with a notable focus on the figure of Tupaia. The *Fa'afaite* crew, "bring the mana of their tupuna Tupaia who represents the skill and knowledge of Pacific voyagers and was pivotal in communicating with Tāngata Whenua during the first onshore encounters with Pākehā in 1769".[78] Māori have told stories about Tupaia since 1769. Those histories challenge the Cook narrative in many ways and in so doing reveal complexities and absences in that narrative. The 2019 anniversary has seen those stories increasingly appear in the public realm. Tāmaki Paenga Hira Auckland War Museum held an exhibition from September 2019 to March 2020, and there was an associated book.[79] Some visiting Hawaiian and Nuian artists learned about Tupaia for the first time through the exhibition. An animation of the first encounters in Gisborne was created for the Tūranga iwi Rongowhakaata exhibition at

Easter Island) and collectively they traversed 210,000 miles of open ocean." Fa 'afaite (2019) Okeanos [online]. Available at : https://okeanos-foundation.org/faafaite/, [accessed 12 August 2020].

[78] Manatū Taonga Ministry for Culture and Heritage tumu whakarae chief executive Bernadette Cavanagh.

[79] Meredith, C. and Tait, M., (2019). *The Adventures of Tupaia*. Auckland: Tāmaki Paenga Hira Auckland War Museum/Allen & Unwin.

Te Papa Tongarewa in Wellington.[80] And recordings of oral histories appeared in Lala Rolls' *Tupaia's Endeavour* (the focus of Chapter 5), extracts from which also appeared in audio-visual installations in the British Library's 2018 exhibition *James Cook: The Voyages* (Chapter 4). Tupaia embodies these temporal and spatial challenges to previous narratives; he exemplifies and validates alternatives. For many of those I spoke to, he holds a very important position:

> Our remembering Tupaea and the knowledge that he had, that's knowledge about tūpuna. So him knowing the way to Aotearoa from stories he was told makes him a very important character for us because we know the same story. And so this renaissance period of voyaging that's going on where there's waka being built throughout the Pacific, we can look at what Tupaea did which is in between the time of now and the time when our tūpuna first arrived in Aotearoa, and see that the knowledge was still there in central Polynesia where we'd lost it. … I think our waka that are sailing our ocean pathways now and recreating those journeys, the greatest thing they're doing is reconnecting and bringing that genealogy back.[81]

What of those who did not participate in the commemorative events? Tūranga iwi decided not to welcome the *Endeavour* replica with a pōwhiri: "Rongowhakaata Trust General Manager Amohaere Houkamau (Rongowhakaata) felt it was more appropriate that 'descendants of the Colonialists who came and settled amongst us' welcomed the ship instead."[82] Activist Tina Ngata (Ngāti Porou), who took a petition about the 2019 commemorations to the UN Permanent Forum for Indigenous Issues, commented on the legacy of such events: "Anything that contributes to the myth of racial harmony delays the important discussions we need to be having about the truth of race relations in Aotearoa. …

[80] *Tiwha, Tiwha Te Pō (Dark, Dark is the Night)* 2017; Animation by Zak Waipara (Rongowhakaata). Rongowhakaata began their period as iwi in residence at Te Papa Tongarewa on 12 June 2017, and the exhibition, *Ruku I Te Pō, Ruku I Te Ao | The Story of Light and Shadow,* opened in September that year.
[81] Interview 6, 2 November 2018.
[82] Matthews, P., (2019). Tuia 250 The Return of the Death Ship. [online] *Stuff*. Available at: https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/116374482/tuia-250-the-return-of-the-death-ship, [accessed 21 October 2019].

The optics of Māori and Pākehā shaking hands and coming together survives longer than the content of those discussions." One iwi banned the *Endeavour* replica from visiting its rohe (territory). Mangonui in Doubtless Bay was set to be one of the stops for the replica *Endeavour* but far North iwi Ngāti Kahu banned it. Chief executive Anahera Herbert-Graves (Ngāti Kahu) has called Cook a "barbarian. … Wherever he went, like most people of the time of imperial expansion, there were murders, there were abductions, there were rapes, and just a lot of bad outcomes for the indigenous people. He didn't discover anything down here, and we object to Tuia 250 using euphemisms like 'encounters' and 'meetings' to disguise what were actually invasions".[83]

During the commemorative events of 2019, protests took place at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa and Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara (Wellington), amongst other places. In an interview about the protests at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, Tina Ngata said: "We're very concerned about the curriculum that's being rolled out around the country that equates British Imperial expansion with Polynesian navigation, and calls it British maritime heritage"[84] In a 2019 essay, Ngata writes that "Indigenous participation on the margin is vital to the centring of the coloniser. I will not play any role in the coloniser centring themselves in the story of my land" (2019: 45). "Just as monuments are a signal of what society deems important enough to embed as a marker of our identity on the landscape – so too are publicly funded nationwide events a statement in and of themselves. They are monuments in time that say THIS date matters, that THIS person matters, and that they matter enough to centre our identity on it" (*ibid.*: 46). There were protest exhibitions too. *He Tirohanga Ki Tai – Views*

[83] Matthews, P., (2019).
[84] Goldsmith, P., and Davis, K., (2019). Tuia 250: Celebration or commemoration for anniversary of Captain Cook's arrival. [online] *Stuff.* Available at : https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/113919524/tuia-250-celebration-or-commemoration-for-anniversary-of-captain-cooks-arrival, [accessed 10 October 2020].

from the Pacific Shoreline – Dismantling the Doctrine of Discovery was exhibited in New York in connection with Tina Ngata's visit. *Here: Kupe to Cook* at Pātaka Art + Museum took place from 11 August to 24 November 2019 and featured work from several artists including Michael Tuffery, a key participant in Lala Rolls' *Tupaia's Endeavour* featured in Chapter 5, and Greg Semu.[85] As far as organisers were concerned, such protests were important: "Te Hā Trust general manager Glenis Philip-Barbara said they've worked really hard to make sure every corner of the community has a space to be heard. 'We've protected our right to protest as New Zealanders for many years, so we are going to … work really hard to make sure that everybody is respectful of each other as we explore these stories.'"[86]

Holding a special place in the events launched during the 250th anniversary in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa is the Tairāwhiti Arts Festival. Launched during the commemorative events of October 2019, the Festival emerged from Tuia – Encounters 250, but is not of it. "Te Tairāwhiti Arts Festival has at its heart the artists and audiences of Te Tairāwhiti – exploring, exposing and celebrating the wonderful creativity of this place." [87]

3.6.2. Beyond the Scenes: Narrative and Scenario

The National Coordinating Committee was composed of representatives of the regional charitable trusts, Manatū Taonga Ministry for Culture and Heritage, Te Puni Kōkiri Ministry of Education and Te Papa Atawhai Department of Conservation, and co-chaired by Hoturoa

[85] *HERE: Kupe to Cook.* Curated by Reuben Friend and Mark Hutchins-Pond. Pātaka Art + Museum, Porirua, New Zealand11 August - 24 November 2019. Available at : https://pataka.org.nz/whats/exhibitions/here-kupe-cook/, [accessed 5 November 2019].
[86] Tuia 250: Emotions running high as flotilla, including replica of Cook's *Endeavour*, nears Gisborne. [online] *New Zealand Herald* 8 October 2019. Available at: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12274473, [accessed 13 August 2020].
[87] Tairāwhiti Arts Festival, (2018) Tairāwhiti Arts Festival. [online] *Tairawhiti Arts Festival*. Available at : https://www.tetairawhitiartsfestival.nz/, [accessed 3 September 2020].

Barclay-Kerr and Dame Jenny Shipley.[88] According to Manatū Taonga, "Tuia 250 celebrated Aotearoa New Zealand's Pacific voyaging heritage and was a national opportunity to hold honest conversations about the past, the present and how we navigate our shared future".[89] Four local trusts were established in the four key places the *Endeavour* made landfall.[90] Each adopted the overall kaupapa (purpose, foundation) of the national commemoration – dual heritage, shared future – and developed different, locally-agreed aims in each community. While following the events of all four trusts on social media, I have focused mainly on the activities of the Te Hā Trust in Te Tairāwhiti. Te Hā was one of four trusts set up in 2013, "through a series of local community meetings which included participants from all iwi and a wide range of other entities and community organisations with an interest in the kaupapa".[91]

Stories and storytelling were mentioned on all the Tuia websites and in much of the mainstream and social media coverage. They also came up in most of my interviews. The discourses referred to stories about the past, including Tupaia and the *Endeavour*, but also stories told to each other in the present, including visions of shared futures. The Te Hā Trust's Ā Tātau Kōrero programme for example generated an archive of stories: "tuia a tātou kōrero – stories from all of us about our place. […] And so this collection of place-based, descendent-led stories will have multiple perspectives … personal recollections, reflections,

[88] Manatū Taonga Ministry of Culture and Heritage (2019) About Tuia 250. [online] *Manatū Taonga Ministry of Culture and Heritage*. Available at: https://mch.govt.nz/tuia250/about-tuia-250, [accessed 12 August 2020].
[89] Manatū Taonga Ministry of Culture and Heritage (2019) Tuia 250. [online] *Manatū Taonga Ministry of Culture and Heritage*. Available at: https://mch.govt.nz/tuia250, [accessed 10 August 2020].
[90] Pēwhairangi / Bay of Islands: Te Au Mārie 1769 Sestercentennial Charitable Trust; Whitianga / Mercury Bay: Mercury 250th Anniversary Trust; Tūranganui-a-Kiwa / Gisborne: Te Hā 1769 Sestercentennial Trust; Waitohi / Picton: Tōtaranui 250 Trust. (Not all websites are still being maintained; on 10 August 2020, the last two were still available.)
[91] Te Hā 1769 Sestercentennial Trust (2019) About the Trust. [online] *Te Hā 1769 Sestercentennial Trust*. Available at: http://www.teha2019.co.nz/about/the-trust/, [accessed 28 January 2020].

treasured memories of this place, Tairāwhiti Gisborne. And … the purpose is ... learning about our neighbours, supporting the community to come together and develop a collective sense of place".[92] This kind of approach takes the time necessary for the processes of encounter. Through an equitable and safe environment in the present, such an approach can remodel assumptions about the past and open up possibilities for the future. The process brought together past, present, and future, explicitly rejecting a cleaving of the present from past. As a local leader of the process noted: "Our country is deciding what the legacy looks like. What is dual heritage? What does it feel like?"[93]

Those who step into the "equitable and safe environment" still face potentially negative experiences: discomfort, conflict, and guilt, amongst others. As Nathan Sentance puts it "anniversaries need to be uncomfortable".[94] But in doing so, the future opens up because the narrative is released from its purpose of reinforcing nationalistic forgetting, and can become an opportunity for co-creation of new and diverse narratives. The scenario of encounter must be challenged in the present for that space to be opened; for, as Massey put it, "only if the future is open is there any ground for a politics which can make a difference" (2005: 11).

That said, planners recognised too that "bringing people together is easy to say but hard to do. There is a defensiveness that makes it hard for people to explore and share their understandings. We have discovered that we can do this in a safe space, at the weekend, over a cup of tea."[95] As Glenis Philip-Barbara explained "We've been creating space for

[92] Interview 17, 13 November2018.
[93] Interview 5, 30 October 2018.
[94] Sentance, N. (2019). *Anniversaries Need to be Uncomfortable* [Blog] Archival Decolonist. Available at: https://archivaldecolonist.com/2019/11/06/anniversaries-need-to-be-uncomfortable/, [accessed 28 January 2020].
[95] Interview 5, 30 October 2018.

people to bring their kōrero — making programmes like Awkward Conversations about race and racism, and supporting community-led programmes like Ā Tātau Kōrero, Tīpuna Kōrero, history sails on the *MV Takitimu* and encouraging people to visit the open days on the waka hourua Tairāwhiti."[96] For Philip-Barbara, "this work is necessary before the waka and tall ships set off from here next October … to prove that we can do it together".[97] Despite the potential discomfort, a huge demand for these cross-cultural conversations was recognised by several interviewees: "they're so interested and hungry to understand the other perspective … When people have anchored on the spot that the *Endeavour* anchored and heard from both a Cook fan and a local historian of Māori descent, with some good natured ribbing, it has blown their minds … the transformation was huge for the simple reason that the majority did not know … it's a game changer." [98]

A focus on the future was another conscious choice in approaching the anniversary. "When you ask what kind of a Tairāwhiti Gisborne do you want your grandchildren to be growing up in, they suddenly switch on and realise they have a personal responsibility to do something."[99] "A big question is 'what happens afterwards?' We are curating a story that takes us where? … The legacy is then handing down knowledge, and a shared responsibility to the ocean."[100] This was clearly visible in *Te paepae o Tangaroa Symposium,* during the events at Gisborne, in the flotilla's Tuia 250 Voyage from October to December, and in the commitment to support waka voyaging beyond the commemorative period.

[96] "A Tātau Kōrero, developed with *The Gisborne Herald*, is a collection of stories of people in our community that highlights a rich tapestry of history, connections and values. Awkward Conversations was developed alongside *Radio New Zealand*, as a series of intimate living room chats exploring human nature, colonisation, race, racism, and personal beliefs. They were recorded before a studio audience. Both programmes are available via: www.tuia250kituranga.nz," *Gisborne Herald* 29 September 2019.
[97] Interview 5, 30 October 2018.
[98] Interviews 5, 9, and 17, October – November 2018.
[99] Interview 17, 13 November 2018.
[100] Interview 5, 30 October 2018.

The Polynesian voyaging community had a significant influence in the 2019 commemorative events. One of the two co-chairs of the national co-ordinating committee was voyaging community leader Hoturoa Barclay-Kerr. Meetings between the other co-chair, Dame Jenny Shipley, and representatives of the voyaging community, including Barclay-Kerr, shaped the overall structure of the events and clearly influenced both the challenges to the narrative and to the scenario of encounter in the present. One interviewee recounted the meetings at the start of their involvement in the process. In it they recalled the frosty reception of an initial proposition that waka follow the *Endeavour* on its voyage around Aotearoa New Zealand. This was followed by a constructive process that responded to the voyaging community's position:

> For us it's about owning our history. It's about telling our history as it was, not glossing over. And … we wanted equity in everything. So that means you know you're bringing *Endeavour* over. There's a huge amount of money going into *Endeavour*. We … don't want to be … bringing our waka along for the crumbs left over. So … you're really going to need to … budget well for waka to be involved… because that's going to help our people heal. […] And so equity in all those areas was required for us to be involved. And I have to say government came to the party… And so our balance is that we get to make sure that in this nation building exercise that we're gonna be there alongside you. [101]

This approach addressed the relegation of Māori to the past, evident in the narratives of previous commemorations, by setting up the planning encounter on equitable terms before other elements of the scenario and narrative were addressed.

A Polynesian framing of place successfully manifested in the commemorations according to Barclay-Kerr: "The dual heritage story I think there was just pretty well manifested in the way that the ships and the waka sailed together. The ability to tell those

[101] Interview 10, 2 November 2018.

stories those dual heritages I think, happened. That's a start."[102] There was also a conscious temporal element in the way these place connections were performed in the commemorations. *Fa'afaite* arrived before the Western vessels. Polynesians were welcomed by Māori first and somewhat out of the glare of the national publicity. And it was the waka that welcomed *Endeavour* and the other ships. This sequence was consciously designed to perform a new temporal circumscription. As one interviewee put it: "For some the switch was thrown in 1769, and what went before is unknown. The opportunity is to expand the timeline."[103] Crucially, this was done in the scenario, not only in the narrative. The Polynesian waka gathered ahead of the anniversary and those arrivals and encounters were celebrated. One record of these events titled it "Tuia 1000 ki Whangaparaoa".[104] The waka sailed round to Tūranganui-a-Kiwa and it was there that they met up with *Endeavour* replica and the other ships. When the flotilla's voyage came to an end, the *Endeavour* replica sailed for Australia. The legacy of Tuia continues, however, in what was referred to in the planning stage as the "Oceans Kaupapa,"[105] and in support for the voyaging community. The challenge to the scenario of encounter in the present, then, opened up the space for the development of new, more diverse, more inclusive, more open-ended narratives, for a shared future to be imagined differently.

[102] Tuia 250 (2020) Interview with Hoturoa Barclay-Kerr. [video] *Tuia 250*. Available at: https://www.facebook.com/tuia250nz/posts/2781485805243583, [accessed 7 January 2020].
[103] Interview 5, 30 October 2018.
[104] Davis, Hon K. (2019). *Whangaparāoa iwi commemorate arrival of waka tīpuna for Tuia 250.* [online] Available at: https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/whangapar%C4%81oa-iwi-commemorate-arrival-waka-t%C4%ABpuna-tuia-250, [accessed 5 November 2020].
[105] Interview 5, 30 October 2018.

3.6.3. Repertoire and Archive

Tuia – Encounters 250, then, successfully focused on challenging the scenario of encounter in the present as well as challenging the narrative of the past. The events also recognised the role of what Taylor calls the archive as well as the repertoire and worked to ensure they both reinforced the narrative and the scenario. A significant impact of Tuia – Encounters 250 in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa and the wider Te Tairāwhiti area has been the inscription of an archive in the landscape. The way the art was produced is as much the point as the narratives that the sculptures symbolise. In Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, artist Nick Tupara (Ngāti Oneone, Rongowhakaata, Te Aitanga a Hauiti) has designed installations produced using modern materials such as laser-cut steel. New pieces have been installed at Puhi Kai Iti Cook Landing Site National Historic Reserve and at Titirangi Maunga (see figures 3.37 and 3.38). These are strikingly modern pieces, echoing Glenis Philip-Barbara's comments: "we've brought the best of us into our present and we're taking it into the future. It's quite an emotional thing, but very powerful, too".[106] Instead of the old scenario of Māori relegated to the past, these installations are clearly contemporary, designed by contemporary Māori artists in modern materials. The public visibility is an important motivation. As Nick Tupara put it: "I'd like to hope that we've stayed true to our kaupapa and used our art form in a modern context with modern material, to be as expressive as our ancestors have been at our marae and that we've extended our marae kōrero at least outdoors, back into the rest of our

[106] Tuia 250 (2020). Interview with Glenis Philip-Barbara. [video] *Tuia 250*. Available at: https://www.facebook.com/1817858361606337/videos/1054907004843482, [accessed 16 January 2020].

community".[107] A voyaging theme has also been incorporated into Council architecture (figure 3.39):

> everything that we build looks like a waka. This building looks like a waka. Whatever we do, it's got to have a navigation theme. Next door there, it's gonna look like sails. At C Company House, when you look on down is like the Southern Cross.[108]

Among those involved there is a clear awareness too of how these commemorative events have the potential to contribute to healing the deeper and wider impacts of colonisation on the wellbeing of Māori. For them, challenging a partial and destructive scenario of encounter has the potential to create one which is more inclusive and constructive; one which bears witness to and recognises dissonance, and in doing so, opens up political opportunities to heal and come to resolution, not only in this context, but beyond into other places and into the future:

> White supremacy is still a worldwide phenomenon, with disastrous psychological consequences. We've avoided the difficult conversations until now. … We need to give life to the value of the Treaty – honour the values of each other and work them together.[109]
>
> We need a long-term strategy to nurture the wealth of the region, not just money, it's minds.[110]

[107] Tyson, J., (2019). The Men Behind the Steel. [online]. *Te Ao Māori News. Available at : https://www.teaomaori.news/men-behind-steel, [accessed 6 December* 2019].
[108] Interview 8, 31 October 2018. C Company Māori Battalion Memorial House is a project undertaken by Ngā Taonga ā Ngā Tama Toa Trust in partnership with Tairāwhiti Museum. The house is dedicated to the memory of the men of C Company who served in the Second World War (Ringer, B., (2015). C Company Māori Battalion Memorial House, Gisborne. [online] *Nga Kōrero a Ipurangi o Aotearoa New Zealand History*. Available at: https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/c-company-maori-battalion-memorial-house-gisborne, [accessed 7 December 2020].)
[109] Interview 5, 30 October 2018.
[110] Interview 9, 2 November 2018.

3.7. Conclusions

This chapter has provided an overview of the history of Cook commemorations in Gisborne from 1905 to 2019. I have shown how the approach to the 250th anniversary of Cook's landing was very different from preceding approaches. Fundamental changes took place in the politics and culture of New Zealand following the 1969 commemorations, creating a very different context for the 250th anniversary. As the 2019 anniversary approached, what I have described as the scenario of encounter, the underlying framing of the commemorative events, itself became the focus of critical engagement. For long a stable factor in the planning and performance of commemoration, the scenario was explicitly contested in the planning for the 2019 anniversary. This was challenged in a time frame that embraced past, present, and future, and in a sense of place that emphasised reconnections across Te Moananui and inscribed new material symbols in the Tūranganui-a-Kiwa landscape.

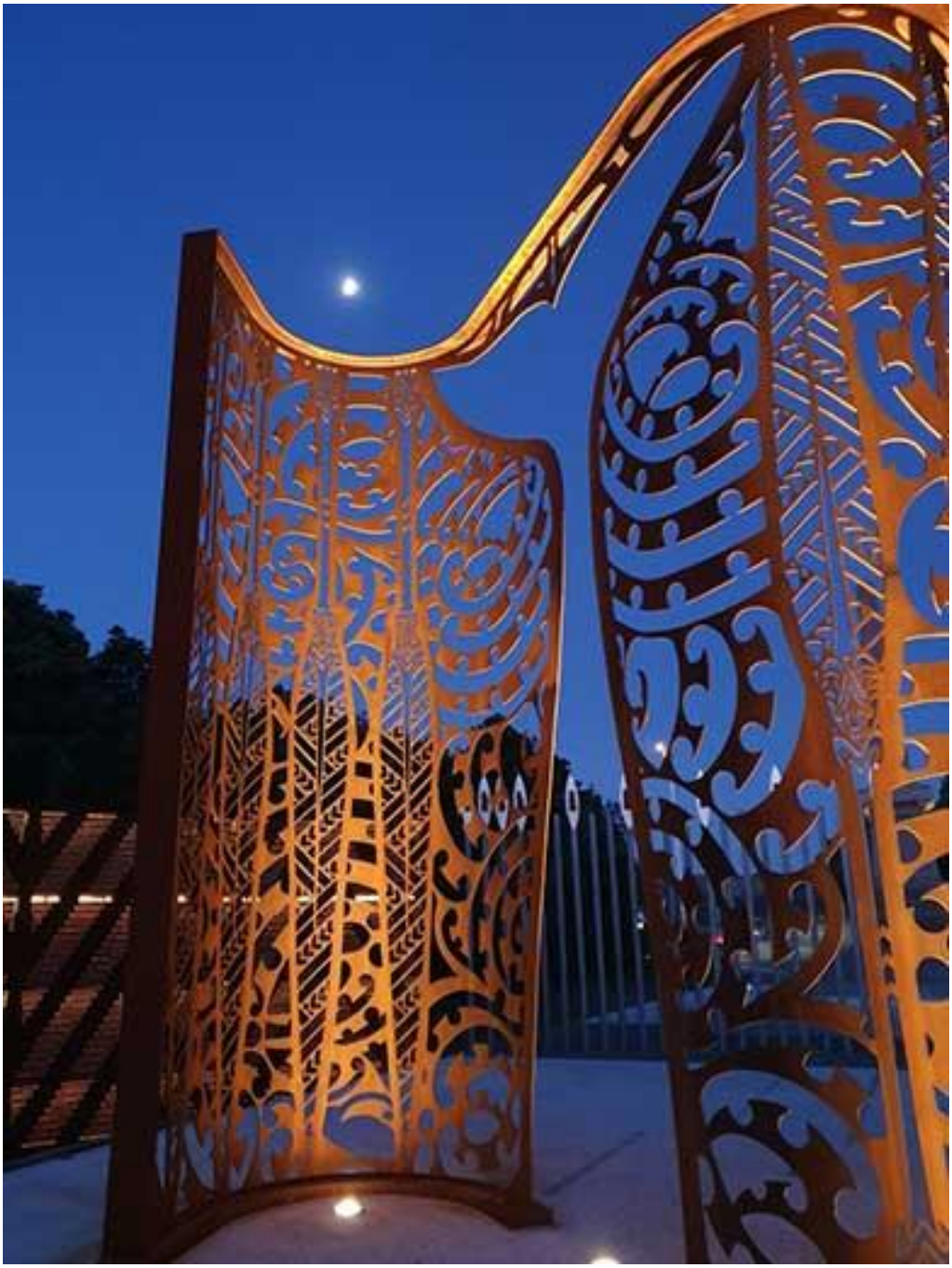

Figure 3.37. *Te Ikaroa* sculpture by Nick Tupara (Ngāti Oneone, Rongowhakaata, Te Aitanga a Hauiti) at Puhi Kai Iti/Cook Landing site. Courtesy of Department of Conservation, photograph by Jamie Quirk.

Figure 3.38. Sculpture of *Gardener Te Maro with a Gourd* by Nick Tupara (Ngāti Oneone, Rongowhakaata, Te Aitanga a Hauiti). Courtesy of Manatū Taonga Ministry for Culture and Heritage.

Figure 3.39. Architectural detail of the Gisborne District Council offices. Photograph by the author.

In the previous commemorations discussed in this chapter, there were consistent elements in both the narrative and the scenario of encounter that framed them. Narrative consistencies include the starting point being the *Endeavour's* arrival in Aotearoa New Zealand, the aggression of Māori necessitating self-defence by the Endeavours, and the ship's departure to continue its mission. Scenario consistencies include cross-cultural contact being imposed by the settler community, in that the event took place on a date chosen by them; the context being British Imperialism and Cook's role in it; the dominance of military representation; and a focus on a presumptive harmonious resolution, where Pākeha and Māori live together in a Westernised Aotearoa New Zealand. While the scenario was unsettled in 1906 by the attempts to include commemoration of the South African contingenters, its focus on the iconic moment of first contact won in the end. This challenge to the scenario was unrelated to the cross-cultural relationships between Māori and Pākeha, nor was it consciously focused on the scenario itself.

I conclude that the presumptive resolution in both the orthodox narrative and the scenario – whereby dissonance was erased from the public performance of the historic encounters – is crucial. Avoiding dissonance and discomfort constrains the possibilities for meaningful encounter by undermining the recognition and acceptance of difference and by preventing a respectful performance of resolution based on understanding. While commemorations of anniversaries have imposed cross-cultural encounters in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, they have also offered repeated opportunities to revisit those cross-cultural relationships. Yet it was only when the scenario itself became a focus, and the dissonance and discomfort was faced with a degree of honesty, that there was a sense of the opportunities potentially reflecting and leading to lasting change. The contrast between 2019 and the previous commemorations I have examined started with the setup of the

events – taking the time to hold encounters to plan the encounters about the encounters. The 2019 anniversary imposed an encounter by imposing the date, but from that point onwards, equity, choice, and diversity became clear aims, which consciously challenged the scenario of encounter that had underlain the diverse events of previous anniversaries.

Thus, the planning processes for 2019 were very different from previous commemorations; they consciously challenged previous ways of doing things before the commemorative events themselves were discussed and agreed. The temporal and spatial re-framings which accompanied this challenge were of particular significance. In temporal terms, the narrative timeline was extended back before 1769 and forward beyond 2019. Moreover, the past, present, and future were brought into the same conversation, recognising that in talking about past encounters, we are engaged in a present encounter that will directly affect how people encounter each other every day, and how the community and its descendants might live together in the future. In spatial terms, new geographical relationships were highlighted. As discussed above, earlier commemorations celebrated links between the settler community and the British empire, and in 1969 also reflected the growing importance of Aotearoa New Zealand's economic and military relationships with Australia and the United States. In 2019 however, through the emphasis on Polynesian voyaging, relationships to the Cook Islands, Tahiti, Fiji, and to the wider Pacific were celebrated and reactivated. More broadly, the health of Te Moananui-a-Kiwa, the Pacific Ocean, was placed before communities with the flotilla of six vessels linking the programme to the ocean in the Tuia 250 Voyage.

The very different emphasis in the 2019 commemorations followed fundamental shifts in relationships between Māori and the Crown in Aotearoa New Zealand in the preceding fifty years. These were reflected in the social and political protest movements in this period

such as the Māori Language Petition of 1972, the Māori Land March led by Whina Cooper 1975, Takaparawhau/Bastion Point 1977-78, the South African Springbok Rugby Tour 1981, and many others. Legal changes include setting up the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975, its scope being made retrospective in 1984; te reo Māori was recognised in law as an official language of Aotearoa New Zealand in 1987. Other commemorative events had also taken place during this period, notably including the 150th anniversary of Te Tiriti/Treaty of Waitangi in 1990. The remarkable revival in Polynesian voyaging across the Pacific, also celebrated in 1990, is significant too. Without such events, the changes that they both signalled and brought with them, and the courage and skillful diplomacy of numerous individuals, it is difficult to envisage the kinds of differences between previous commemorations of the *Endeavour's* landfall and the 250th anniversary in 2019.

Chapter 4. London: Sites of Contest in Commemorative Exhibitions

Memory is always a collaboration in progress.
Richard Powers, *The Overstory,* 2018.

4.1. Introduction

Chapter 2 explored an archive of histories about the *Endeavour's* landfall at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa for evidence of a repertoire intimately bound up with both the events themselves and their subsequent histories. In Chapter 3, I explored the relationships between a repertoire of commemorative events and the archives of them in the same place, Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, and considered how those relationships might affect the scenario of encounter. In this chapter, I start with a different dynamic relationship between a repertoire of events held in 2018 around archival forms, exhibitions, and in a different place, London, more specifically in some of its major national cultural institutions. The focus of this case study is on three commemorative exhibitions: The British Library's *James Cook: The Voyages*; the Royal Academy of Arts' *Oceania*; and the National Maritime Museum's *Pacific Encounters,* one of four permanent new galleries the Museum opened simultaneously in September 2018. These exhibitions represented historic cross-cultural encounters in different ways, and in doing so generated new cross-cultural encounters in the present through collaborations with artists and guidance from Tāngata Moana. Each exhibition also had its own programme of public events including performances, workshops, seminars, and talks during which further contemporary cross-cultural encounters took place. This section outlines the focus

of the chapter, introduces the three institutions' exhibitions and the installations and events that I have selected for analysis, and sets out the structure for the rest of the chapter.[1]

Much has been written on the interactions of audiences with exhibitions, focusing variously on concepts such as affect, attitudes, behaviour, and knowledge exchange. My focus though is firmly on the behind-the-scenes cross-cultural encounters that take place between national cultural institutions and Indigenous artists and 'source communities,' reflecting the overall focus of the thesis on the framing role of scenarios. The aim of this chapter is to reveal a variety of such framings and to explore their spatiality. Thus, the focus is more on the unframed spaces than the galleries themselves, those less-obviously part of the exhibition, those that the institutions cast as the sites of fringe exhibition activities, such as public programme events, opening ceremonies, and meetings. These spatial and performance framings enact the underlying scenario that limits what narratives may be told and constrains form.

The chapter also focuses on framings of a different kind, based on Diana Taylor's two key concepts of archive and repertoire, and the spatiality of these at the chosen institutional sites. What distinctions are made between archive and repertoire, and where are they made? What constitutes an exhibit and what constitutes the framing materiality? What behaviour is framed as 'a performance' and what every day behaviour is excluded from that frame and unexamined? In examining a range of cross-cultural encounters, I undertake a form of participant observation of the institutions, examining the spatiality of cross-cultural

[1] For reviews of the exhibitions, see for example Parker, K., (2019). Coming to terms with Captain Cook: exhibiting the 250th anniversary of the *Endeavour* voyage. *Journal of Historical Geography*, *64*, pp.98-103; and McLaren, A. and Clark, A., (2020). Captain Cook upon Changing Seas: Indigenous Voices and Reimagining at the British Museum. *The Journal of Pacific History*, *55*(3), pp.418-431.

encounters around the exhibitions and examples of their everyday behaviours 'as performance'.

The British Library's *James Cook: The Voyages* exhibition, curated by William Frame and Laura Walker, took a chronological approach to Cook's three Pacific voyages between 1768 and 1780.[2] Its narrative structure presented a familiar chronology of the three voyages, with Cook himself as the main reference point. The layout of the exhibition reflected both this chronology and the geography of the Pacific as it was encountered by the *Endeavour*. Curatorial interpretation was presented in the form of maps, globes, text panels and labels. Indigenous perspectives were included in the audio-visual installations, using commissioned footage alongside excerpts from two pre-existing films,[3] and in online articles for the exhibition website. The exhibition was opened by Sir David Attenborough in a ceremony on 26 April 2018 and ran from 27 April to 28 August 2018. There was also an associated exhibition of photographic portraits in the Library's second floor gallery, *Tūhuratanga: Voyage of Discovery*, by Crystal Te Moananui-Squares (Ngāti Hako) in collaboration with Jo Walsh (Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Whakaeke), created in response to *James Cook: The Voyages*. This exhibition had its own opening event on 5 July 2018 and ran from 6 July to 23 September 2018.

The Royal Academy's exhibition of Oceanic art, *Oceania*, curated by Adrian Locke, Peter Brunt, and Nicholas Thomas, ran from 29 September to 10 December 2018.[4] It took a thematic rather than chronological approach, with rooms dedicated to Voyaging and

[2] Cook died in Hawai'i in February 1779. The expedition returned to England in October 1780.
[3] *Tupaia's Endeavour* (Final Cut). Produced and directed by Lala Rolls. Island Productions Aotearoa, 2020; and *East Coast Encounter.* Directed by Jeff McMullen. [DVD] Duration 24 minutes, 2014.
[4] The exhibition was organised in collaboration with Musée de quai Branly – Jacques Chirac, Paris, and with the participation of the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. An edition of the exhibition, *Océanie*, ran from 12 March to 7 July 2019 at the Musée de quai Branly – Jacques Chirac, Paris.

Navigation, Making Place, The Spirit of the Gift, Performance and Ceremony, Encounter and Empire, and Memory. Interpretative text was deliberately minimal, a choice that was noticed by many visitors and commentators. Cook's voyages were included within a much broader geographical and historical framing, with examples of the few exhibited artefacts that were collected on his Pacific voyages being two hoe (paddles).[5] In the exhibition catalogue, the significance of Cook's voyages for the exhibition was made clear in the opening paragraph of the foreword. The catalogue included essays by Indigenous authors and all the exhibits were Indigenous.[6] Indigenous perspectives were also facilitated by guidance from an Honorary Committee.[7] An opening blessing of the exhibition on 25 September 2018 was preceded by a dawn procession led by Tāngata Moana from Green Park along Piccadilly to the Academy.

The National Maritime Museum's new *Pacific Encounters* gallery, curated by Katy Barrett, Aaron Jaffer, Sophie Richards, and Nigel Rigby, opened on 19 September 2018. [8] It has taken a broadly chronological approach to its subject but has extended the narrative over a much longer timescale than the British Library exhibition had done. It starts with Polynesian voyaging and settlement of the Pacific and ends with contemporary arts and voyaging. The interpretation enables the gallery to be approached from either end of the

[5] Full catalogue details are: "Hoe, canoe paddles, eighteenth century. Māori New Zealand. Wood, paint, lengths 189cm and 180.5cm. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge. D 1914.66, D 1914.67" (Brunt, P., and Thomas, N., (2018) *Oceania*. London: Royal Academy of Arts: 283). Other exhibits included fish hooks, clubs, and an "Akua hulu manu, feathered god image, probably Ku the god of war" (Brunt and Thomas 2018: 198).

[6] Except perhaps the two photographs of Jim Taofinu'u by Mark Adams a non-Indigenous photographer.

[7] Maile Andrade, Hawai'i; Arapata Hakiwai, Aotearoa New Zealand; Noelle M. K. Y. Kahanu, Hawai'i; Emmanuel Kasarhérou, New Caledonia; Sean Mallon, Aotearoa New Zealand; Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, Aotearoa New Zealand; Michael Mel, Papua New Guinea; Ralph Regenvanu, Vanuatu; Faustine Rehuher-Maruggm Palau; and Megan Tamati-Quennell, Aotearoa New Zealand.

[8] "The team at NMM would like to acknowledge Jo Walsh and the In*Ter*Is*Land Collective in impacting both the gallery and their curatorial practice" MP 4, pers. comm. MP throughout the footnotes refers to Museum Professional. To anonymise responses, I have numbered sources in a way that cannot be linked to the list of participants in the bibliography.

space and timeline. Indigenous perspectives have been incorporated into the narrative by contemporary commissions exhibited throughout the gallery space. Provision has been made for changes to the gallery's Indigenous installations during the anticipated initial ten-year life of the gallery. All four permanent galleries were opened by Sir David Attenborough at a Gala Opening event on 19 September 2018, and a public programme of launch events took place the following weekend, many of which were delivered by or otherwise involved Indigenous people.

In the process of creating these exhibitions and designing their public programmes, all three London institutions engaged with Tāngata Moana in different ways. It is these contemporary relationships, cross-cultural encounters in the present, that are the primary focus of this chapter. The contemporary relationships manifested in a variety of ways including: at the British Library, in the performances at the opening event, in the audio-visual installations in the main gallery, and in Crystal Te Moananui-Squares' photographic portrait exhibition, *Tūhuratanga: Voyages of Discovery*; at the Royal Academy, the opening procession and blessing ceremony and Lisa Reihana's video installation *in Pursuit of Venus [infected]*; and at the National Maritime Museum, the Gala Opening of all four new galleries, the commission *Rangiiwhao: Ihu Ki Te Moana* from Ngāti Rangiiwaho artists and a collaborative installation by the Pacific diaspora in London, *Lost Collections – Captain Cook was a Pirate,* both in the Museum's new *Pacific Encounters* gallery, and the performance of *Cook's New Clothes: First Procession for Tupaia,* during the opening weekend's public programme.[9]

[9] *Cook's New Clothes: First Procession for Tupaia,* (2018). [video, 00:12:04] A film project by Khadija von Zinnenburg Carroll. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=etfhJXsvwTE, [accessed 23 November 2020]; Cooks New Clothes Collaboration (2018). [blog] *University of Birmingham*. Available at: https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/schools/lcahm/news/2018/cooks-new-clothes-collaboration.aspx, [accessed 23 November 2020].

These events took place in what has frequently been called the contact zone since Clifford's application of the term to museums. This concept, introduced in Chapter 1, was borrowed first by Mary Louise Pratt from linguistics and applied more broadly to colonial cross-cultural encounters, and then applied by James Clifford to situate and understand relationships between curators and their communities in museum contexts (Pratt 1996; Clifford 1997). As in Clifford's Portland case study, and as I have written elsewhere (Rowlands 2015), museum exhibitions are far more than their exhibition and gallery spaces, with important cross-cultural encounters taking place in other spaces such as storerooms and meeting rooms, and during workshops, seminars, and public talks. Here, I use Taylor's concepts of archive and repertoire across a range of spaces and cross-cultural encounters that took place in them. In doing so, I show how they reveal nuanced and complex relationships in the contact zone, and how these might be understood in terms of the scenario of encounter.

Section 4.2 sets out the context of literatures on place and performance in museums, with a particular focus on the concept of the contact zone. In section 4.3, I analyse the selected installations and events by institution. Section 4.4 is a synthesis of the most significant points that emerge from the analysis, focusing on archive, repertoire, and place. The concluding section is framed by the three elements of the scenario of encounter proposed in this thesis: contact, dissonance, and resolution.

4.2. Place and Performance in Museums

Geographers and others have taken a variety of spatial approaches in their work on museums. Many have mobilised spatial concepts such as 'arena,' 'theatre,' and 'contact zone' (Burch 2012; Clifford 1997; Crooke 2015; Schorch 2013). In exploring a biographical

approach, Kate Hill described museums as “arenas where relationships produce narratives of various sorts” in contrast to a model of museums as “producers of knowledge about a knowable world” (2012: 3). Her argument counters the inordinate amount of attention that had previously been focused on “ways in which power was inscribed in the institution, the spaces and the discourses of the museum” (Bennett 1995; Duncan and Wallach 1980).

Some spatial analyses of museums have gone beyond museum sites themselves both physically and digitally. For example, Hill and others have developed the idea of the distributed museum (Gosden, Larson, and Petch 2007; Hill 2016). Hill draws attention to studies of museums which present them as “aggregations of different groups of people with different agendas” (Hill 2016: 3). She reinforces Chris Gosden and Frances Larson’s argument in favour of seeing museums as distributed institutions, “the collective production of a wide range of people” (2012: 5-6). Nonetheless, she also recognises how relationships between curators and committees “led to compromises over, for example, the way in which the space of the museum was developed…” (Hill 2012: 5). Hill’s focus on professional networks, and a decades-long focus on museum communities, both lead to an understanding that museum relationships extend beyond their physical walls. A review by Joshua Bell shows how studies “help demonstrate how museums as relational entities … are emergent processes” and reinforces the dynamic view of museums that has emerged over the past 40 years or more, where museums are seen as important sites of negotiation and collaboration (Bell 2012: 70).[10] Susana Smith Bautista and Anne Balsamo have extended the idea of the extended museum through their exploration of the digital domain (Bautista and Balsamo 2013). These examples demonstrate firstly that how we think of museum places

[10] The books considered by Bell in this paper are: Bodinger de Uriarte 2007; Carpenter 2005; Colwell-Chanthaphonh *et al.* 2010; Price 2007; and Silverman (ed) 2006.

and how they work is entangled with the relationships that take place there. They also recognise the permeable walls of museum institutions and the webs of relationships that connect them to the world at large. This relational understanding can also be extended to the scale of the artefact itself. The status of an object in a museum sits within entangled relationships between the museum institution and its networks of professionals and audiences, relationships that lead to an imponderable question, a Schrodinger's artefact if you will, that Pierre Bourdieu expresses like this: "The paradox of the imposition of legitimacy is that it makes it impossible ever to determine whether the dominant feature appears as distinguished or noble because it is dominant … or whether it is only because it is dominant that it appears as endowed with these qualities and uniquely entitled to define them" (1984: 92). A museum is built on its collections and collections are built by museums. The status of collections develops in the museum arena within extensive networks of relationships. Those relationships are themselves mediated by the museum in the constant becoming of place. The physical and the social work together. While recognising the value of a range of spatial approaches to museum studies, the well-developed spatial metaphor most relevant to my thesis is that of the contact zone.

Many applications of, or references to, Clifford's ideas of museum contact zones highlight the importance of place. Claudia Augustat and Wolfgang Kapfhammer (2017), for example, in their projects with source communities in Austria, Brazil, and Guyana involving work both inside and outside the museum, recognise Clifford's reference to asymmetric power relations but assert also that "this moral heritage gives reason to the museums to 'rework' these relationships […] by turning their storage rooms into meeting places ('contact zones') of curators and source communities". This, they argue, helps to "establish a new contact zone, 'indoors' and 'outdoors,' in which members of heritage communities are able

to break through the silence in the old contact zone and finally make their own voices heard" (2017: 748-9). In museum storage room encounters, positive work has been done in recent years, much of it in museums close to their source communities, such as in North America, Australia, and Aotearoa New Zealand (Mithlo 2004; Van Broekhoven *et al.* 2010; Faulhaber 2004; Velthem 2003). Augustat and Kapfhammer note that "the possibilities of collaboration between ethnographic museums and source communities have been reviewed and theorized very optimistically (MacDonald and Fyfe 1995; Peers and Brown 2003; Byrne *et al.* 2011; Phillips 2011; Allen and Hamby 2011; Harrison, 2013)" (Augustat and Kapfhammer 2017: 750).

Indigenous, black, and minority ethnic participants in museum contact zone encounters report both positive and negative experiences of such encounters. Consider Diana Guzmán's comments for example:

> For us it is very important because [...] it allows us to meet our ancestors again. It is exciting to have them close again. We have high expectations, because this means being close to our roots, our ancestors, things that we have lost, but that thanks to you we are able to see again. And that allows us to grow stronger as indigenous peoples, strengthen our identity and think of our children's future.[11]

From the museum perspective, Kraus, Halbmayer, and Kummels in the same project note that:

> one of the most outstanding experiences for us was to watch how the indigenous experts took over the direction of the workshop and structured the dialogue. They changed the order of the museum depot – which up to now had ordered objects according to the criteria of economizing space and had also grouped particular materials based on the conservation measures they required, such as feathers, plant material, pottery, etc. In contrast, they selected objects according to the chronological order of their appearance and importance in their creation myths (2018: 23).

[11] Cited in Kraus, Halbmayer, and Kummels, (2018): 19.

In this quotation we see how the ontological implications of curatorial classification can be challenged in the museum contact zone. While in that case study a change or resolution took place, in others it is the unresolved tension of juxtaposing different ontologies brought together around objects that is welcomed. As Ramesh Srinivasan *et al.* put it:

> consideration of multiple ontologies accepts the tensions that lie between different interpretations and understandings of an object. We believe that within these tensions, the incommensurability between perspectives are actually great potential sources of knowledge. By focusing our attention on difference (Kuhn 1970), this incommensurability offers us the chance to acquire new knowledge, to be exposed to paradigms that are not our own, and allows these paradigms not to be subsumed by the fixed standards and static classifications of the immutable mobile, as all mobiles are mutable outside their programs of stabilization. Indeed, we believe that for museums to truly serve as "contact zones," spaces of postcolonial encounters between heterogeneous publics (Pratt 1992; Clifford 1997), they must foster this incommensurability, rather than ignore it by stripping objects of their radically diverse interpretative frameworks (2010: 737).

As this suggests, a key feature of the museum contact zone is its diversity, enabling a multiplicity of perspectives. It is neither the coloniser's place nor the colonised's place but a "third space," a place created through "transculturation" in Pratt's terms. Indeed, Srinivasan *et al.*'s work "suggests that for true engagement with collections, such engagement may have to take place outside of the museum – outside of the contact zone" (2010: 760-1). One such place, they argue, is the digital space, where "digital objects can offer a means for extending these objects into diverse knowledge settings, not simply as representations, not simply as illustrations, but as actors with social lives" (2010: 760).

While some of the positive engagements with the application of the idea of the contact zone to museums make some reference to its limits or propose adaptations, others are more directly critical. Indeed, however positively much of this literature describes developments in museum relationships with source communities, a significantly sceptical

vein of criticism has persisted, finding new expression in recent calls to decolonise the museum (Giblin *et al.* 2019; Silver 2019; Tolia-Kelly and Raymond 2020; and Vallance 2018). One of its common themes is that there has been deep dissatisfaction with the process of engagement among Indigenous and community relationships with museums in recent years. Such dissatisfaction can be perceived amongst source communities as a professional and institutional detachment and is recognised by the professionals themselves: "It's their lives; it's our job." [12] Such detachment may manifest in a focus on exhibition narrative rather than on the scenario within which it is created. Yet, as Bernadette T. Lynch and Samuel J.M.M. Alberti also show in their example from Manchester Museum, even where there is a clear focus on the process of community engagement, the possibilities of change are constrained. "Although the exhibition was delivered successfully and was well received, the intended co-production was not realised – the term itself was never unpacked. […] There was considerable goodwill all round at the beginning of the project, but the limitations of the process were suppressed" (Lynch and Alberti 2010: 29). One of the factors Lynch and Alberti identified was "a consistent avoidance of conflict" (2010: 29). One result of such avoidance in their study was a focus on the exhibition rather than the process, with the exhibition representing the detached past, and the process being the lived reality of the present. As one participant in the Manchester Museum process put it:

> I'm not an academic, but sometimes my problem is with academia: analysis usually leads to paralysis. It's like people who don't talk about racism but the symptoms of racism. Racism is about human beings – it's not about analysing it in an exhibition. It's the feelings we have inside, the hatred, the palpable feelings – that's the racism I'm interested in (2010: 27).

[12] MP 12, pers. comm. 2018.

Dealing with conflict in collaborations is a challenge. In the context of collaboration within educational settings, there is a "need for educator instinct and skill … [H]aving experienced facilitators … is what gives museums the ability to take up society's most complex and divisive issues" (Clover and Sanford 2016: 135). Darlene Clover and Kathy Sandford nonetheless remain optimistic about the possibilities of change in museums, which "present us with new possibilities for teaching and learning in our troubled world" (2016: 139). The experience of those involved from outside the museum can be less optimistic. As Sumaya Kassim, speculates in *The Past is Now*, a short film essay by Arwa Aburawa, "maybe we need to accept that the museum isn't the place for these conversations, because the museum will never be decolonised" (Aburawa and Kassim 2017: 00:09:05). [13] The unasked question here is "where can these conversations take place?"

The repeated experience of mismatched intent, understanding, and practice reflects the true complexity of the challenges in museum contact zones. Since "all culture-collecting strategies [are] responses to particular histories of dominance, hierarchy, resistance, and mobilization," [only by] "thinking of their mission as contact work" [can museums] "begin to grapple with the real difficulties of dialogue, alliance, inequality, and translation" (Clifford, 1997: 213). It is no surprise then that Robin Boast concluded in his 2011 review of the concept of the contact zone that there is something in "the anatomy of the museum that seems to be persistently neo-colonial" (Boast 2011: 56). Boast noted that while the new museology moved museums from places of single narratives to sites of different forms of engagement "the intellectual control has largely remained in the hands of the museum"

[13] Sumaya Kassim was one of the co-curators of a decolonial exhibition *The Past is Now* at Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery in 2017.

(2011: 58). This is facilitated, at least partly, because legal control of objects and the places in which they are stored and accessed has remained with the museum. "Asymmetry is built, literally and figuratively, into our institutions" (*ibid.*: 66). Place matters. Where things happen matters. This is of clear concern when the museum is being renewed and expanded "along pre-existing lines, [and] being extended to communities and countries with no previous museum tradition" (*ibid.*: 67). The projection of museum infrastructure and collecting obsession is neo-colonial. We should be challenging our obsession with preservation, and considering the adoption of non-Western practices, at least for non-Western objects, such as using things or allowing them to be used, embracing the value of performance and exchange.

Boast recognised that in Clifford's Portland museum example, something "intractable was being performed, an aspect of these colonial institutions, and the contact zone, that has largely been left out of the post-Clifford/Pratt discussions" (*ibid.*: 61). This brings us to the root of the problem. The complexity of the concept has been lost at times. Instead of being used as a way of reframing a big problem, the contact zone label, with its language of contact and exchange, is offered by museums as a solution in itself to the problems of engaging with Indigenous and other communities. The concept of the contact zone is not in itself a solution for such problems. It might offer a framework for solutions, to the extent that it encourages museum professionals to understand and engage with the complexity of cross-cultural relationships. I argue in this chapter that developing Taylor's application of the concept of scenarios is another way of doing just that, which has distinct advantages over the idea of the contact zone as initially formulated. The concept of the scenario broadens the frame from narrative to include a much wider range of elements such as set up and gesture, bringing into focus those behaviours which may remain invisible unless they

are viewed 'as performance'. The scenario focuses attention on the assertion that performance matters. Moreover, when viewed as performance, the staging of institutional behaviours within a scenario highlights the role of specific places and sites; how and where relationships are performed in museum places matters. The challenge posed by critiques of the contact zone is profound. As Boast concluded: "The museum, as a site of accumulation, as a gatekeeper of authority and expert accounts, as the ultimate care-taker of the object, as the ultimate arbiter of the identity of the object, as its documenter and even as the educator, has to be completely redrafted" (*ibid.*: 67). He does not, however, indicate what this vision might look like in practice, nor how we might get there. There are big issues. The nature and scale of the problems in effecting such changes are often highlighted within current debates about decolonising the museum. For example, Vienna's Weltmuseum curator Claudia Augustat is frank about such problems, recognising that while museums invest a great deal of effort in temporary exhibitions that bring benefits to their image as progressive, the benefits to others are less clear. Moreover, such temporary initiatives have "almost no effect on the structure of our institutions" (Augustat 2019: 29-30). She recognises that, in looking deeper into the institution to understand how to decolonise its practices, significant logistical and resource issues become apparent, including diversity of staff, storage capacity, resources for collaboration, and professional curation standards.

While examining institutional structures and budgets is one way of approaching the issues, I argue in this chapter that a focus on place and performance is another useful approach. Examining the way place functions in relationship with cross-cultural encounters 'as performance' can reveal institutional decisions, conscious or unconscious, about what happens where and expose their implications to further scrutiny. Such decisions can either reinforce or challenge the perpetuation of asymmetries inherent in the contact zone. For

neither the museums nor contact zones are monolithic, homogeneous spaces. Different people perform different roles in different places: different staff engage with different members of different communities in different spaces.

Taylor's performance studies approach brings several advantages to bear on the issues raised above. Firstly, it critiques the above contention that there is a space "outside the contact zone". For performance studies approaches, "we are all in the picture, all social actors in our overlapping, coterminous, contentious dramas" (2003: 12). Secondly, it allows us to "take seriously the repertoire of embodied practices as an important system of knowing and transmitting knowledge" (2003: 26). In the museum context, practices that transmit knowledge also result in the persistence of institutional structures. The ways things are done are as much embodied habits as they are specified procedures. These embodied habits and procedures may be seen in both theatrical performances and in professional behaviours viewed 'as performance' in this case study. Both performances and embodied habits 'as performance' can contribute to the perpetuation of the scenario of encounter in the museum contact zone or they can offer resistance and stimulate change.

Consider firstly the case of theatrical performances. Performances in museums have been an increasingly familiar sight in recent decades. As Georgina Guy notes: "Historically, museums have given priority to the collection, conservation, communication, and display of objects. Lately, there is an increasing drive across museums and arts institutions to display performance by means of documentation and artefacts, as well as through programmes of live work and artistic re-enactments" (2016: 3). She examines the relationships between what she calls the displayed and the performed, resonating with Taylor's terms archive and repertoire. Guy explains how, in the context of exhibitions, performance has "acquired more and more influence over the domain of display," which gives rise to "a means of appearing

more intensely" (2016: 1). Such developments are part of a much broader, global context for Indigenous performance and activism (Gilbert 2017). Within world cities such as London, Indigenous people have been visiting and performing for centuries (Thrush 2016), and the Pacific Indigenous diaspora has had a significant permanent presence since at least the 1970s (Gilbert 2017: 13). There are many means by which Indigenous performance takes place in the city, as Gilbert explains:

> Today, indigenous performances find their way into the city through multiple channels: music, dance and theatre venues, exhibitions at the British Museum and other institutions of its ilk, cultural events at various embassies and high commissions, and community gatherings such as the Native Spirit Film Festival, Diá de los Muertos (Day of the Dead) celebrations, the Notting Hill Carnival and ANZAC Day ceremonies (2017: 14).

One major Indigenous performer in European cultural institutions is Rosanna Raymond.[14] Raymond has described her performances as being for the taonga (an object, practice, or idea that is treasured or prized) and those who share relationships with them. The spatial dimension of those relationships is inextricably bound up with such performances, in both conceptual and practical terms. The distinctions between Cartesian and Indigenous senses of place introduced in Chapter 1 underlie differences that emerge in practice. Raymond emphasises activation as a specific mode of performance which actiVAtes the VA. Here she refers to a concept that Samoan Albert Wendt explains is "the space between, the betweenness, not empty space, not space that separates but space that relates, that holds separate entities and things together in the Unity-that-is-All, the space that is context, giving meaning to things" (Jacobs and Raymond 2016: 238). In practical

[14] "Born in Aotearoa–New Zealand of Samoan and Pākehā (European) descent, Rosanna Raymond is an artist, poet, lecturer and curator, who crosses spatial and linear divides in all her work." Jacobs, K. and Raymond, R., (2016). Rosanna Raymond's SaVAge K'lub at the eighth Asia Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art. *World Art*, *6*(2): 234).

terms too, place differences are clear. Raymond's activations challenge and impact on the institutions in which she works through her body. A powerful example is offered in the distinction between ideas around the clothed body from the opening of the eighth Asia Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art at the Queensland Art Gallery & Gallery of Modern Art.[15] For Raymond, the philosophical and practical are bound together in her work through her body. She explains that "The Pacific body is a genealogical body. The body is the vessel of our ancestors, fully dressed in its decorations." Yet the museum imposed their Western conceptions about body, clothing, and nudity, concepts essentially unchanged from those imposed by missionaries in early cross-cultural encounters across the New World. Organisers challenged her nudity, asked her to cover up her body, and placed signs for gallery visitors referring to "adult themes". When asked about it, Raymond responded:

> When I saw that sign of adult themes, I just laughed. I actually thought that it was a joke, but it wasn't. Then I had to go through that whole thing of negotiating – it is about money and visitors and the fear of what might happen. Somebody might become outraged or disgusted, while the whole point is that you judge the body not through a sexual lens. … It was a shock because I thought that in the twenty-first century we had come a lot further. In all my work I have wanted to decolonise the position of the body, yet they made me feel ashamed. Here we were, invited to ArtAsiaPacific and it's about performance and the body and gender and yet we were highly censored the whole way or controlled (Jacobs and Raymond 2016: 243).

Raymond's experiences and reflections highlight the way that an Indigenous body can become a highly charged and multi-layered site of contest in performances such as these. The institution imposed its perspective on Raymond's body, driven by a motivation to avoid potential conflict or challenge from its Western audiences, a perspective rooted in a Western cultural approach to the body. In being imposed, it came up against a Pacific

[15] This took place from 21 November 2015 to 10 April 2016.

approach to the body that Raymond asserted. Her resistance to such imposition is no less significant, and indeed may be more significant than resistance to Western systems of classification and labelling as 'artefacts' objects which, understood as taonga, are so very different. Thus, the body, the Indigenous body in this case, is recognised as a site of contest, where challenges to the scenario of encounter may take place.

In the second case, that of institutional behaviours considered 'as performance,' I argue that these also show the value and importance of performance studies approaches to cross-cultural encounters in the museum contact zone. Studies that have used a performance framing of everyday museum behaviours include Laura Peers' 'The Magic of Bureaucracy' (2017).[16] Here, discussing bureaucratic repatriation processes as ritual, Peers explains: "While the ceremonies we usually think of as part of repatriation events are Indigenous—prayer, song, and dance—the administrative actions involved in repatriation are also ceremonies in the anthropological sense, performances of corporate identity and relations of power" (2017: 9). The kinds of "performances of corporate identity and relations of power" that I explore in what follows include opening ceremonies such as the speeches at the Gala Opening of the National Maritime Museum's new galleries. As well as examining such behaviours 'as performance' I also focus on where they take place.

4.3. Contemporary Encounters in London

In this section, I analyse selected elements of each exhibition in turn – the British Library's *James Cook: The Voyages*, the Royal Academy of Arts' *Oceania*, and the National Maritime Museum's *Pacific Encounters* gallery. The analysis uses Taylor's concepts of the archive and

[16] Peers, L., (2017). The magic of bureaucracy: repatriation as ceremony. *Museum Worlds* 5 (1): 9-21; see also the film *Decolonising Cultural Spaces: The Living Cultures Project.*

the repertoire and illustrates aspects of the dynamic relationship between them. The whole is underpinned by a spatial approach that highlights the significance of the ways different physical and social spaces were used as proxies for implicit power relationships.

4.3.1. British Library, *James Cook: The Voyages*

In *James Cook: The Voyages*, Indigenous peoples were seen and heard in three places that fall within Taylor's concept of the archive: the audio-visual installations within the main exhibition gallery; in the parallel photographic exhibition *Tūhuratanga: Voyage of Discovery* displayed in a separate, small gallery space; and in articles on the exhibition website. The audio-visual installations comprised eight films, each around three minutes long. Indigenous voices were included through extracts from two documentaries, Jeff McMullen's *East Coast Encounter* and Lala Rolls' *Tupaia's Endeavour*, with other commissioned interviews and voiced over commentary. As well as the people interviewed, visual material included filmed landscapes, texts, and illustrations from Cook's three voyages. Of the 17 interviewees featured in the short films, twelve were Indigenous and five non-Indigenous.[17] Of the dozen artists whose work was shown, four were Indigenous. The films were mainly themed geographically, focusing on topics such as Aotearoa New Zealand, Australia, and Antarctica, while others were focused on Tupaia and Cook.

The presence of Indigenous people in these films was in the form of interviews. As with other examples below, these archived performances highlight the "intricacy of relations" between the exhibited and performed. The audio-visual installation is the form in which performances, in this case interviews, were exhibited. This is typical of the way

[17] A full list of the interviewees and artists is given in the Appendix.

Indigenous presence was included in all three institutions' galleries; Indigenous performances were translated into archive form. Thus, in *James Cook: The Voyages*, the performance of contemporary Indigenous expression was almost exclusively restricted to the audio-visual installations. In this way, the challenging or dissonant voices that were admitted to the gallery were spatially separated within it and expressed in a different medium. One significant presence that was not so confined was Tupaia's, through the inclusion of drawings relatively recently attributed to him.[18] Significant as this inclusion was for other reasons, the presence of these images posed no fundamental challenge to the narrative taking place at the site of the exhibition. Tupaia's Indigenous presence there represented a non-violent sharing of culture at the moment of encounter. He is firmly in the past, is exotic, and is collected. While Tupaia's inclusion in the exhibition changed a relatively minor part of the orthodox narrative of past events by including an Indigenous hero, he was not a contemporary presence and did not otherwise directly affect the contemporary cross-cultural encounters that were taking place.

Indigenous voices do have agency in these circumstances, and the locations in which they are placed can become active sites of contest. The juxtaposition of the British Library's narrative and Indigenous voices provided multiple narratives for the visitor. It was possible to have different voices and different narratives within the same gallery, differences which could be left in conflicting, polyphonic relationship with each other, rather than compromised in a single narrative attempting to be balanced, however that might be defined. Indigenous voices gained a greater degree of prominence within the exhibition gallery through the films than might otherwise have been the case. The audio-visual

[18] Salmond, (2003). The Trial of the Cannibal Dog.

installations were popular elements of the exhibition, often a more attractive medium to visitors than the static displays, and one effect of archiving interviews with people in this medium was to bring contemporary Indigenous experience much more prominently into the space than would have been the case through text panels and artefacts.

Indigenous people were also present in archive form in a parallel exhibition at the British Library, *Tūhuratanga: Voyages of Discovery*, which overlapped with the main Cook exhibition. In press articles based on a Library press release it was described as a "contemporary encounter with Pacific communities in the UK. Portraits navigate ideas of identity and connection between diverse cultures, while responding to historical interpretations of collection items within our *James Cook: The Voyages* exhibition" (The Culture Diary 2018). New Zealand Māori photographer Crystal Te Moananui-Squares and freelance New Zealand Māori cultural producer Jo Walsh collaborated over three months to create the exhibition of twenty portraits in response to an opportunity that arose very late in the process of planning *James Cook: The Voyages*. A small gallery space on the second floor of the British Library became available, and members of the exhibition team took the opportunity to work with Te Moananui-Squares and Walsh.

The spatial separation of the exhibition from the gallery space of *James Cook: The Voyages* created an opportunity for the artists to assert themselves and their communities into the space of the Library. It is hard to imagine that this degree of autonomy could have happened within the main exhibition gallery itself. The working relationships with the institution that enabled this to happen are also crucial. The museum professional involved, and their managers, placed a high level of trust in Te Moananui-Squares and Walsh. These relationships were influenced by their situation on the fringes of the organisation and because they concerned a space outside the main gallery.

Figure 4.1. Section of the exhibition *James Cook: The Voyages* focused on Tupaia. Courtesy of the British Library.

Figure 4.2. Section of the exhibition *James Cook: The Voyages* including an audio-visual installation. Courtesy of the British Library.

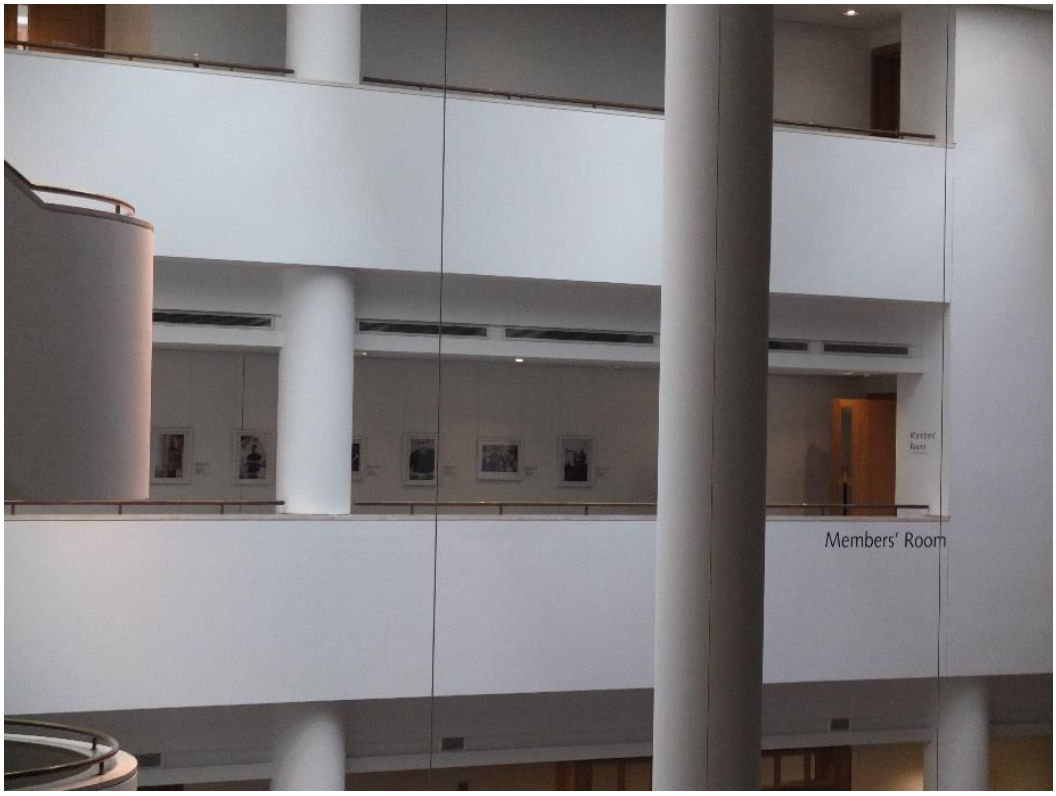

Figure 4.3. Photographic exhibition *Tūhuratanga: Voyages of Discovery* by Crystal Te Moananui-Squares (Ngāti Hako) in collaboration with Jo Walsh (Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Whakaeke) British Library second-floor gallery, July 2018. Photograph by the author.

The opening event for *Tūhuratanga: Voyages of Discovery* took place at 18:30 on Thursday 5 July 2018 in a small area cordoned off at the back of the Library, two floors below the exhibition itself. The British Library's Head of Culture and Learning Jamie Andrews welcomed an invited audience using some words of te reo Māori. Walsh and Te Moananui-Squares spoke in English and te reo Māori and introduced dancers and musicians to open the exhibition. Together with the artists who performed, Te Moananui-Squares and Walsh comprised an artistic team taking an opportunity to express themselves and the communities that they identify with in their chosen way. *Tūhuratanga*'s introductory text panel quoted Tauti Jane Davis: "We are us, we cannot be anyone else." Walsh explains that:

> Our motivation came from who we are today, how amazing *Tāngata o Moana Nui a Kiwa* (People of Oceania) are, everyone's very different yet we can all stand

> shoulder to shoulder in relation to that diversity. … We worked with Pacific communities here during workshops, and just generally having a chat with people. Through this dialogue, we found a nice thread that would respond to the main exhibition by prioritising relationships between contemporary Pacific people and the objects and *taonga* contained within the exhibition rather than taking Captain Cook's voyages as a theme. Starting from this relationship we decided to take the route of a series of portraits seeing as we, contemporary people of the Pacific Ocean, are the most relevant response to *James Cook: The Voyages*. Specific objects or *taonga* from the exhibit were selected by Crystal and I as *kaupapa* (foundation) to which we associated the people photographed to capture that essence in the portraits.[19]

The relationship between Taylor's concepts of archive and repertoire, and the symbiotic relationship between them, is apparent in Walsh's explanation, particularly in "we, contemporary people of the Pacific Ocean, are the most relevant response" to the artefacts of the main exhibition. It was also evident in the relationship between the exhibition of portraits and its opening event, where the presence of many of those photographed created a remarkable effect. The contemporary people of the Pacific were there, being themselves, for themselves, because of the opportunity to create an archive of portraits. The opening event was not archived, but perhaps the impact of the whole project could have been greater if it had been.

Other cross-cultural encounters took place in the process of creating the audio-visual installations for the main gallery. These included meetings and discussions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people from outside the institution and different members of interpretive, outreach, and curatorial staff. While these were not documented in the films themselves, nor anywhere else in the gallery, they were translated into archive on the exhibition website in the form of articles.[20] In these articles, some of those who participated

[19] Rands, A. and Walsh, J. (2018) Mana Moana in the UK's year of Captain Cook. [Online]. *Contemporary Hum*.
[20] The authors were: Noelani Arista; Bridget Reweti; Dr Shayne T. Williams; and Jo Walsh, Matariki Williams and Emma Tutton.

in the contemporary cross-cultural encounters around the exhibition express something of their experience. Contributors drew attention to the importance of contemporary relationships and the role of objects in activating them. In one of these articles, Dr Shayne T. Williams noted that "we are now being valued and celebrated for our unique knowledge of the ecological and spiritual foundations of our world".[21] Elsewhere, Walsh explained that "through experiencing the objects, images and content of this exhibition, we are able to connect a direct link to the original whakapapa of the taonga, meaning that we are able to create relationships immediately between a work, its ancestral line, and a current living tribe, hapū (sub-tribe) or individual".[22]

At least part of the motivation for using audio-visual media for Indigenous voices was that they could be incorporated within separate audio-visual installations designed independently of the main exhibition development at a relatively late stage in the process. The spatial separation of contemporary Indigenous voices also fulfilled another intention of the curatorial and interpretive team – to distinguish between the institution's voice and the voice of others. The dominant voice remained the institution's, that of the British Library, which still implied a detachment, neutrality, and objectivity. The differentiation between institutional narrative and Indigenous voices expressed in the space of the gallery alleviated the pressure for a self-critical or even self-aware approach by the Library to its engagement in the scenario of encounter. This is not to say that the narrative of history that it presented was entirely uncritical, or unreflective. For example, the presence of weapons at the very start of the exhibition's voyage sections made a clear point about the violence inherent in the voyages. The Library did not, however, take a further step to reflect on its own position

[21] Williams (2018).
[22] Walsh, Williams, and Tutton (2018).

within the broader context of an institution with significant colonial heritage engaging with Indigenous peoples in the present. The experience of one of those involved was "I don't feel the British Library did any real consultation that would affect the way they created the exhibition because they left it as an afterthought" (Rands and Walsh 2018) [23]

The narrative for the British Library's Cook exhibition was closely directed by the curatorial and wider exhibition team. Its exhibition voice was intended to be an authoritative, institutional, and factual one that avoided expressing an opinion on the controversies that surround the subject of Cook and the voyages. The voices of those who consider them controversial, principally Tāngata Moana, were to be given space, but space set apart. The relative physical isolation of both the audio-visual installations and *Tūhuratanga*, and their development late in the process, reflect a resistance to sharing control of the institution's narrative. The space functioned as a proxy for control. From the inside of institutions, such decisions can appear to be normal practice, natural intentions, or unavoidable factors. Seen in a wider context however, such decisions create sites of opportunity to perpetuate or challenge the scenario of encounter. In this case, the artists did challenge the expectations and constraints. The focus of *Tūhuratanga* was on contemporary Tāngata Moana, with the Cook exhibition and its artefacts visually side-lined in the small interpretive labels. Furthermore, in the portraits and labels, the exhibition celebrated the multi-ethnic Indigenous and non-Indigenous heritages in individuals and families. This challenged an implicit underlying assumption in the use of space that Indigenous voices can be separated from contemporary society and its discourses within which cultural institutions are embedded.

[23] Rands and Walsh (2018).

Figure 4.4. British Library Opening of the exhibition *James Cook: The Voyages*, 26 April 2018. Performance by Ngāti Rānana. Photograph by the author.

In the opening event for the British Library's exhibition *James Cook: The Voyages*, on 26 April 2018, the speeches were dominated by institutional voices, then Chair of Trustees Baroness Blackstone and Chief Executive Roly Keating, together with Sir David Attenborough. Indigenous participation in the event was framed as entertainment. However, even in institutional performances such as these, and framed in this way, there are opportunities for the exercise of Indigenous agency. Ngāti Rānana took the stage in much the same way that Beats of Polynesia had at the National Maritime Museum's Gala Opening, as we shall see below, but they used the occasion to perform a diplomatic role, through speeches in te reo Māori about the occasion (see Figure 4.4) As with *Tūhuratanga*, the performance was not translated into archive.[24]

[24] "Ngāti Rānana London Māori Club aims to provide New Zealanders residing in the United Kingdom and others interested in Māori culture an environment to teach, learn and share" Ngāti Rānana (2020). Home page. [online] *Ngāti Rānana.* Available at: https://www.facebook.com/ngatiranana, [accessed 30 November 2020].

4.3.2. Royal Academy of Arts, *Oceania*

The largest and most spectacular installation in the Royal Academy's *Oceania* exhibition was *In Pursuit of Venus [infected]*.[25] *In Pursuit of Venus [infected]* is a large scale 64 minute video installation, a digital performance artwork, produced by Lisa Reihana (Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Hine, Ngāi Tu, English, Welsh) in response to Jean-Gabriel Chauvet's early19th century wallpaper design *Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique*,[26] which she saw at the National Gallery of Australia in 2008. It was first exhibited as a 32-minute installation at Toi ō Tāmaki Auckland Art Gallery in May 2015 and represented Aotearoa New Zealand at the Venice Biennale in 2017. The installation at the Royal Academy was displayed in its own space, partitioned from the rest of the *Oceania* exhibition. Over the 64 -minute cycle, scores of life-sized filmed scenes, embedded in an adaptation of the wallpaper's geographical background, scrolled from right to left across a wall of screens 23m long and 3m high, accompanied by an evocative soundtrack. The scenes were filmed to resemble live theatre rather than cinema, with no close-ups or cuts. The muted colour palette follows that of *Les Sauvages de la mer Pacifique*, while the density of the composition has been relaxed from that of the wallpaper, giving each scene more space.

[25] *In Pursuit of Venus [infected]*, 2015-2017 Lisa Reihana (Ngāpuhi, Ngati Hine, Ngāi Tu), (b. 1964) Aotearoa New Zealand. Single channel video, UltraHD, colour, 7.1 sound, 64 minutes. See https://www.inpursuitofvenus.com/ for an excerpt from Reihana's *in Pursuit of Venus [infected]*. For a detailed study of *in Pursuit of Venus [infected]*, see Looser, Diana, 2017. Viewing time and the other: visualizing cross-cultural and trans-temporal encounters in Lisa Reihana's *in Pursuit of Venus [infected]*. *Theatre Journal* 69 (4): 449-475.

[26] "*Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique* is a rare, spectacular, large-scale panoramic wallpaper printed in colour from woodblocks with colour finishing by hand. It was printed by the innovative wallpaper manufacturer Joseph Dufour and designed by textile and wallpaper designer Jean-Gabriel Charvet. A panoramic wallpaper consists of a series of drops that can either be hung individually or joined together to form a panoramic scene in a domestic environment. The wallpaper was popular and sold throughout Europe and in North America. It was bought by wealthy individuals to adorn their dining rooms and drawing rooms. The complete sequence of *Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique* consists of 20 drops, each of which were numbered and described in an accompanying brochure written by Dufour." Rice, R. (nd) The Significance of the Dufour Wallpaper. [blog] *Te Papa Tongarewa*. Available at: https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/learn/for-educators/teaching-resources/venice-biennale/lisa-reihana-emissaries/significance-of-dufour-wallpaper, [accessed 29 August 2020].

There are many other direct comparisons that can be made between *Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique* and *In Pursuit of Venus [infected]* that reveal significant transformations in Reihana's approach. One of the most significant differences is that she distinguishes between the Indigenous peoples involved in the cross-cultural encounters generated by Cook's voyages. In *Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique*, place is represented as an ideal, a dream of noble savages at one with nature, viewed through a neo-Classical lens. The Indigenous peoples are represented as transformed, idealised characters, wearing Hellenic costumes. *In Pursuit of Venus [infected]* on the other hand draws attention to the different peoples involved in expressing and distinguishing their unique cultural practices and identities. A second significant difference is the transformation from static to moving image realised through Reihana's use of performing arts languages alongside visual languages in a powerful synthesis. For example, relations between the Western and Indigenous peoples on screen, and between them and the audience, are profoundly transformed through the embodiment of the encounters taking place. Scenes include cross-cultural encounters which challenge the simplistically represented, assumed passivity of Indigenous peoples. Juxtaposed with these, there are also scenes of Indigenous peoples engaged in everyday activities, ceremonial, celebratory, and diplomatic behaviours. As Reihana puts it: "Contemporary technologies allow me to shift perspectives, the change from static images into embodied performances enacts a recovery of the past" (Reihana 2012: 20).

Thus, the opportunities offered by filmed performance evident in several installations in *Oceania* were most powerfully realised in Reihana's work.[27] *In Pursuit of Venus [infected]*

[27] *Siva in Motion*, 2012 by Yuki Kihara (b. 1975) Samoa/New Zealand. Single channel high-definition video, silent, 8 minutes 14 seconds. Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, Auckland, 2012/25/7 (Brunt and Thomas 2018: 310); *Tell Them*, 2012 by Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner (b. 1987) Marshall Islands. Film, performance, 3 minutes 22 seconds. Poetry by Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner / Film by Masahiro Sagano (Brunt and Thomas 2018: 281).

was 'placed' similarly to British Library's audio-visual installations in the sense that Indigenous performances were physically set apart and translated into the form of an installation. In similar ways then, in Reihana's installation, performances are included in the gallery space as an exhibit, as an artefact. Yet the work's immense artistic and technological achievement is that it powerfully contests that very framing. *In Pursuit of Venus [infected]* challenges narrative form in its cycling and recycling of events and in the juxtapositions of asynchronous events. Its sheer scale and quality create affective impacts far beyond the other video installations that were part of either *Oceania* or *James Cook: The Voyages*. *In Pursuit of Venus [infected]* took its place as an artefact, as archive, but through Reihana's conceptual originality and her mastery of the digital medium to realise it, she challenged that framing and blurred distinctions between archive and repertoire within the gallery.

Behind the scenes of *In Pursuit of Venus [infected]* lives a mindful process of co-creation with the many artists, communities and elders involved in its production. In her 2012 master's thesis, Reihana reflects on several of the issues that emerged during the project. From her previous creative experience, specifically *Native Portraits*, *Digital Marae*, and *Pacific Sisters,* Reihana deepened an awareness of sensitivities around relationships between Indigenous peoples and research, abut also gained "the confidence to work with other indigenous peoples and represent them and their cultures" (2012: 16). Referring to "the seven principles of research engagement" in her process, Reihana attended to such sensitivities with great attention to detail, to the extent that a shoot was cancelled where discussions with a Hawaiian elder did not reach agreement for recording to take place.[28] The

[28] The seven principles of research engagement, attributed by Reihana to Emeritus Professor Ngahuia Te Awekotuku (Te Arawa, Tūhoe, Waikato), are: 1. Aroha ki te tangata, respect for people; 2. Kanohi kitea, present yourself to people face to face; 3. Titiro, whakarongo…, korero, look, listen... speak; 4. Manaaki ki te tangata, share and host people, be generous; 5. Kia tupato, be cautious; 6. Kaua te takahia te mana o te

digital art work installation *In Pursuit of Venus [infected]* challenges the distinction between archive and repertoire, challenges narrative orthodoxies of time and cross-cultural relationships, and challenges the scenario of encounter through the way it was created.

Figure 4.5. Screenshot from *In Pursuit of Venus [infected]*. Lisa Reihana (Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Hine, Ngāi Tu, English, Welsh) 00:04:05.

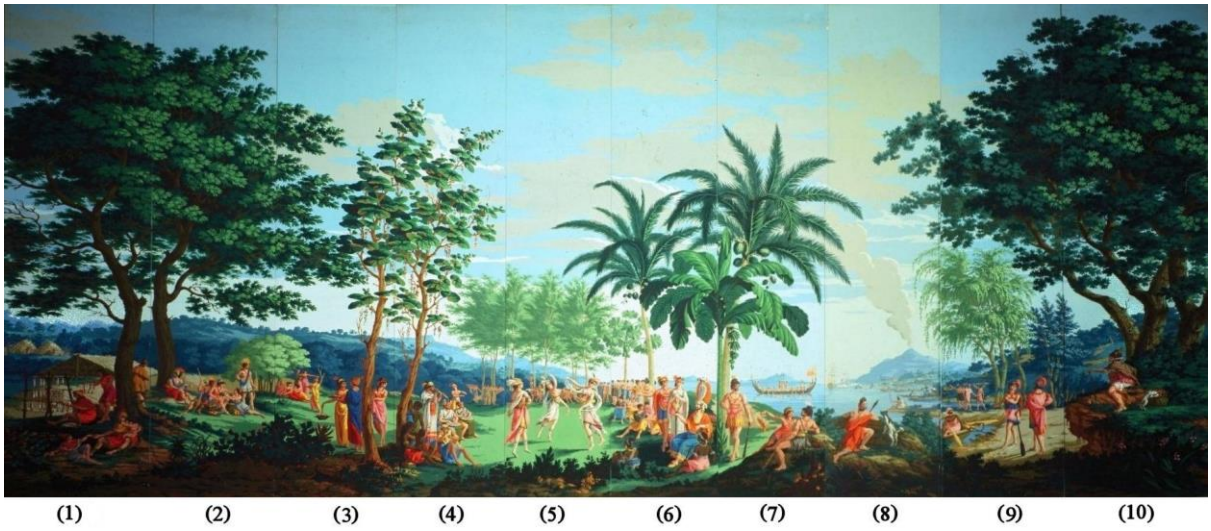

Figure 4.6. *Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique*, panels 1-10 of woodblock printed wallpaper designed by Jean-Gabriel Charvet and manufactured by Joseph Dufour et Cie, (1804-1805).

tangata, don't trample over people's mana; 7. Kaua e mahaki, don't flaunt your knowledge, (Reihana, L., (2012) *Re-Staging Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique: Theoretical and Practical Issues.* Master's thesis, Unitec Institute of Technology, Auckland: 19).

As illustrated by *In Pursuit of Venus [infected]* specifically, a series of cross-cultural encounters characterised the development of the *Oceania* exhibition as a whole. During a guided tour of The Royal Academy's *Oceania* exhibition, curator Adrian Locke expressed surprise at the importance of the exhibits for Indigenous people in the present.[29] Given that Locke was working with Peter Brunt and Nicholas Thomas, I did not expect this. I would have imagined the planning process that involved both Thomas and Brunt, together with the Honorary Committee, would have prepared the ground. Yet if Locke had not experienced this for himself, he might never have known. He said that he had worked on many shows and he had never come across anything so potent. As it was, he noted, some realisations took place quite late in the day, including the need for permission from iwi for the display of taonga. The encounters that revealed this most potently were discussions about borrowing Tuai's drawings from Auckland Library.[30] Library staff pointed out that if the Academy wanted Tuai's drawings, then they would need at least one guardian to accompany them. This protocol extended across all Māori taonga. The most striking example, according to Locke, was the *Tangonge, the Kaitaia carving*.[31] Six representatives accompanied the loan: one from the museum together with five descendants including children. When the box was opened, "there was much lamentation; it was an extraordinary moment, something quite special". Recognition of the importance of cross-cultural encounters in the present is visible in the experiences of the Royal Academy, in the learning that took place during the

[29] Comments attributed to Adrian Locke in this paragraph are all drawn from my notes of his tour of *Oceania* as part of the Travellers' Tails workshop at the Royal Academy on 8 October 2018.
[30] "Cat 33. Tuai (known as Thomas Tooi), 1797?-1824 *Drawing of two waka (canoes)* 1818. England. Ink on paper, 15.9 x 19.7 cm (verso of cat. 32). Sir George Grey Special Collections. Ngā Pātaka Kōrero o Tāmaki Makaurau – Auckland Libraries, Auckland. GNZMMSS-147-3." Brunt and Thomas (eds) 2018: 118. See also Cat. 34 and 35, pages 120 and 121.
[31] "*Tangonge, the Kaitaia carving.* AD 1300-1400. Māori, Kaitaia, North Island, New Zealand. Wood, 39 x 226 cm. Collection of Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira (6341)." Brunt and Thomas (eds.) 2018: 90-91.

development of *Oceania*, in planning for its opening performances, and after the opening. Once the exhibition had opened, the gallery placed a bowl of water for the use of visitors at the entrance to the gallery.[32] Hawaiian visitors brought a stone to offer to one of the deities, Kū,[33] which now belong with the exhibit since its return to the British Museum.

Figure 4.7. The Royal Academy of Arts opening procession for *Oceania* from Green Park to Burlington House 24 September 2018. Source: Stephen Chung – Alamy.

[32] Placing water at the entrance/exit to galleries enables visitors to deal with tapu: (restriction, prohibition - a supernatural condition. A person, place or thing dedicated to an *atua* is removed from the sphere of the profane and put into the sphere of the sacred, (Moorfield, J., (2003-2020) Tapu. [online] *Te Aka Online Māori Dictionary*. Available at: https://maoridictionary.co.nz), [accessed 20 November 2020]). Fresh water has a special connection to tapu. It has the power to neutralise tapu to levels that are no longer dangerous to people.

[33] "Kiʻi, temple of Kūkāʻiliʻmoku, the god Kū, the Island Snatcher, late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. Attributed to the Kona coast, Hawaiʻi . Breadfruit wood, height 267 cm. British Museum, London, Oc1839.0426.8" (Brunt and Thomas 2018: 291). The deity was dressed in the gallery but not in the catalogue photograph.

Figure 4.8. The Royal Academy of Arts opening for *Oceania*, a ritual challenge at Burlington House 24 September 2018. Source: Stephen Chung – Alamy.

Oceania was opened at dawn on 24 September 2018 with a procession of around 300 people from Green Park to the Royal Academy along Piccadilly. Waiata (songs or chants) were performed, pedestrians and residents of the Ritz Hotel watched the procession pass. This ceremonial performance appeared to have a less hegemonic intent than those at the National Maritime Museum or the British Library. One of those taking part was Sir Jerry Mateparae, New Zealand High Commissioner to the UK, the first Māori to hold that position. Sir Jerry pointed out that many of the Pacific objects held by European museums had originally been stolen, which was acknowledged by the President of the Royal Academy, painter Christopher Le Brun, as a statement of fact. New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern's representative was Associate Minister for Arts, Culture and Heritage Carmel Sepuloni, of Samoan, Tongan and Pākehā heritage. The procession started in the public spaces of London, in Green Park, and moved along Piccadilly to the Royal Academy. On arrival at Burlington House, the procession's Pacific guardians were met by Ngāti Rānana

(London Māori Club) who represented the Royal Academy. Questions were asked: Why does the Academy want to borrow our treasures? Will the Academy respect them and look after them? Who is the exhibition for? The exchange was reminiscent of the wero that greets visitors to marae in Aotearoa New Zealand, being a means of establishing if the visitors are friends. Following this pivotal moment, while most of the procession waited outside, those 50-60 people who were "guardians of the 250 objects" entered Burlington House to ensure each one was properly blessed. For at least one participant, "it felt beautifully ironic that the old colonial master was cleared out of Burlington House, one of the symbols of the British Empire, to make way for the indigenous people of the Pacific to bless their treasures in the capital city that once subjugated them".[34] Yet there is still some way to go. As one professional commented: "The most important thing is to eat together. We had bacon sandwiches and tea."[35]

Despite the effort to reach a balance of power in the procession, this event was not the whole story. There was also a formal opening the following evening, attended by Megan Markle in her first solo royal engagement. On this occasion, the opening performance was more focused on the British establishment and the colonial-legacy institution in its social role in London. Aspects of this engagement were highlighted by New Zealand Government representative Sepuloni, who noted that Markle and her husband were about to make an official visit to Aotearoa New Zealand. Sepuloni explained the diplomatic opportunity: "Marking 250 years since Cook began his voyage of 'discovery' of the Pacific, it gives us the chance to re-evaluate his legacy and the legacy of colonialism. He didn't discover the Pacific, the people of the Pacific did, and it's important that we tell that side of the story back to the

[34] Hooton, M., (2018). Oceania brings Piccadilly to a halt. [online] *New Zealand Herald.* Available at: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/opinion/news/article.cfm?c_id=466&objectid=12131213, [accessed 1/10/18].
[35] MP 15, pers. comm. 2018.

world." According to another *New Zealand Herald* article, this was also an opportunity for wider diplomacy: "While attention will be on the art, and Markle's visit, there will be behind-the-scenes meetings and events where New Zealand and Pacific leaders can talk to UK stakeholders on issues and encourage them to take a role in finding collaborative solutions."[36] The fact that a second opening event took place raises questions about the role of the first. The staging of two openings on different days echoes the spatial and media separation of Indigenous voices in the British Library exhibitions discussed above. What would a single, combined event have looked like? What would it have demonstrated about the cross-cultural encounters taking place, and about the status of the parties involved? It is worth noting that there is a precedent for such a public engagement between Indigenous people and Royalty. On 22 November 2006, Queen Elizabeth II and the Duke of Edinburgh took part in a service at Southwark Cathedral to "Celebrate the Life of Sachem Mahomet Weyonomon" (Mohegan people) and unveiled a memorial to him.[37]

4.3.3. National Maritime Museum, *Pacific Encounters*

Indigenous presence in the form of installations in the National Maritime Museum's *Pacific Encounters* gallery included both historic and contemporary objects. Some of the contemporary installations had been commissioned for the gallery, such as *Rangiiwaho: Ihu Ki Te Moana*. This installation, housed in two bookcases either side of the doors at one end

[36] Christian, D., (2018). Oceania's royal visit guaranteed to focus attention. [online] *New Zealand Herald.* Available at: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/entertainment/news/article.cfm?c_id=1501119&objectid=12128869, [accessed 1/10/18].

[37] Diocese of Southwark, A Service to Celebrate the Life of Sachem Mahomet Weyonomon in the Presence of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth I and His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh (Southwark, UK, 22 November 2006); Court Circular, *The Times*, 23 November 2006.

of the gallery, contain a collection of works by a group of six Māori artists from Ngāti Rangiiwaho of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, Te-Ika-a-Māui, Aotearoa New Zealand (see figures 4.9 and 4.10). [38] The two parts of the installation house several works of art, grouped around two principles. On the right side is where the artists honour their "mythological and genealogical connections to our relations of Polynesia, showing respect to the shared spiritual portals of Pacific peoples". The left side represents "the movement of the present into the future as peoples of Te Moananui-a-Kiwa, Aotearoa, Ngāi Tāmanuhiri and Ngāti Rangiiwaho". Information about the range of media techniques and depth of symbolism was included in a booklet that has been available in the gallery, which was designed to provide "an insight, and an understanding" of the installation.[39]

The bookcases themselves, as well as the building they are in, have heritage status, which meant that there were restrictions on what could be done within them, including lighting. As one of the artists observed: "Like the taonga that we put into the bookcase, there were limitations for Steve, because that was an antiquity, the bookcase, so he couldn't have the lighting up" (artist 3).[40] Figure 4.9 shows one bookcase that visitors can approach, while figure 4.10 shows the other bookcase that visitors can't approach due to the positioning of the Fijian drua (canoe) Adi Yeta (Lady Yeta), and other exhibition and gallery infrastructure.[41] This disposition wasn't clearly communicated to the artists before installation and it has affected the visibility of taonga and text in the affected case. Staff at

[38] Steve Gibbs, Kaaterina Kerekere, Kay Robin, Jody Toroa, Jual Toroa, and Ihipera Whakataka.
[39] For further information: rangiwaho@gmail.com.
[40] Interview 12, 8 November 2018. A more extensive quote by one of the artists involved in the project appears in the following article: Von Zinnenburg Carroll, K., 2019. Museopiracy: Redressing the Commemoration of the *Endeavour's* Voyage to the Pacific in Processions for Tupaia. *Third Text*, *33*(4-5): 541-558.
[41] Adi Yeta was built by Korovou Vakaloloma, Curu Vakaloloma, Misaele Tovolea, Losalini Tayaco, Joji Marau Misaele, Luisa Vereivalu Marau, Setareki Domonisere, Capetu, Rogovosa Biu.

the Museum are conscious of this and there is a will to address the issue during the life of the gallery.[42] While these taonga are located in association with other contemporary installations and exhibition panels and are seen by visitors as part of a themed assemblage, they are nonetheless separated from the rest of the gallery by being contained within the bookcases. This resonates with comments in other exhibitions that co-curation resembles the kinds of collection practices inherent in the nineteenth century development of museums.[43] There may be no clear intention to 'collect' Indigenous presence or approval, but the physical separation of the material enhances that perspective and thus remains problematic.

Figure 4.9. Installation in a *Pacific Encounters* gallery bookcase of *Rangiiwaho: Ihu Ki Te Moana*, by six Māori artists from Ngāti Rangiiwaho of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, Te-Ika-a-Māui (North Island) Aotearoa New Zealand. Photograph by the author.

Some aspects of the cross-cultural encounters for *Rangiiwaho: Ihu Ki Te Moana* are less visible. The artists talked about "navigating their way in there" with doors being

[42] MP 4, pers. comm. 2018.
[43] Aburawa and Kassim 2017, (00:05:14).

opened. Making appropriate contacts within organisations from planning to openings is important, and that requires friends, they noted, like Dame Anne Salmond. Such friends are successfully opening doors, and as one of the artists commented "there are more doors being opened than closed".[44] Much engagement work is done by learning, outreach, interpretive, and curatorial staff. Yet there are times when members of a visiting group may be senior leaders in their society and the status of the staff from the host institution that welcome them reflects hidden judgements about visitors and their perceived importance to the institution.

Figure 4.10. Installation in a *Pacific Encounters* gallery bookcase of *Rangiiwaho: Ihu Ki Te Moana*, by six Māori artists from Ngāti Rangiiwaho of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, Te-Ika-a-Māui (North Island) Aotearoa New Zealand, with the Fijian drua Adi Yeta (Lady Yeta) in the foreground. Photograph by the author.

Another installation, *Lost Collections – Captain Cook was a Pirate* was created as a collaborative project for the *Pacific Encounters* gallery.[45] It had been expected that the

[44] Artist 1, interview 12, 8 November 2018.
[45] 'Captain Cook was a Pirate', 2017-2018. SaVAge K'lub (Jo Walsh, Katrina Talei Igglesden, Ariana Davis, Siliga Sani Muliaumaseali'i and Tāngata Moana), Textile installation with various components. National Maritime Museum, PRP1380, PRP1278, PRP1377, PRP1376, PRP1375, PRP1379.

installation would be exhibited alongside some of the Museum's collection items in a single cabinet. However, conservation concerns about the effects of the Indigenous artists' work on the Museum's collection items resulted in them being separated. To its credit, the Museum chose to remove its items from display to prioritise the collaborative installation. The aspect of this project that I wish to draw attention to is the performance associated with it. During the opening weekend's programme of public events, on Saturday 22 September, two of the artists involved in this installation presented the work: Ariana Davis (Ngāi Tahu, Wai Taha, Ngāti Mamoe, Sioux, England), and Jo Walsh (see figure 4.11). Davis and Walsh did more than introduce the collaborative artwork. The way they did it also introduced visitors to the appropriate tikanga involved in contemporary relationships between people and taonga. They sang a karakia and then introduced themselves with their pepehas, in which they shared where they are from and who they are. Walsh explained the living status of taonga and the importance of behaving appropriately. Davis conveyed the depth of her relationship with her family, both those living and those who have passed, that is woven into the piece she made for the installation. She shared her relationship with the people and place of Tamatea (Dusky Sound) where she spent some of the time while making her work. This performance took place in the same space that the installation *Lost Collections – Captain Cook was a Pirate* occupies in the new *Pacific Encounters* gallery. The fact that such a performance took place at all is important. It reflects the importance for Tāngata Moana of being present "as people who are living, breathing, and contributing to society, not just some far away idea of a people that exists to create a backdrop for a British historical narrative".[46] That said, its impact was undermined in several ways. The talk

[46] Rands and Walsh 2018.

was minimally advertised. There were other events happening at the same time in other spaces around the Museum. There were people wandering through the space who were not aware of witnessing the performance, the impact of which on those who participated was detrimental, based both on my own experience and comments I overheard at the time. While it was an important opportunity to create a performative moment for those ordinary visitors present, to reach them in a way that invitation-only openings could not. Again, it was not archived, so apart from the experience of the small number of people who were there, significant as that was, it might never have happened.

Figure 4.11. Ariana Davis (Ngāi Tahu, Wai Taha, Ngāti Mamoe, Sioux, England), and Jo Walsh (Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Whakaeke), speaking in the National Maritime Museum's *Pacific Encounters* gallery, Saturday 22 September 2018. Photograph by the author.

The final element of the events surrounding the National Maritime Museum's engagement with the legacy of Cook to be examined here takes the form of an artistic intervention. *Cook's New Clothes: First Procession for Tupaia* was a collaborative

performance produced by Khadija von Zinnenburg Carroll of the University of Birmingham as part of her Restitution and Institutional Change project. The project is analysing how European institutions obtained, curate and display non-Western intellectual property and material culture, and making a case for its repatriation. The publicity for the performances of *First Procession for Tupaia* invited participants to: "critically reimagine and reconfigure the departure of James Cook's *Endeavour* 250 years ago in two processional performances on the banks of the River Thames and Tamar.[47] This first performance took place on Saturday 22 September 2018, during the National Maritime Museum's events to celebrate the opening of the four new galleries. The *First Procession for Tupaia*, in which I took part, started from Queen's House, which offered a point of departure and a means of gathering an audience from related events taking place in the building. With little context, such as might be given in a theatrical prologue, the procession was led to the River Thames. The outdoors enabled movement, sound, and behaviours that would not have been possible within Queen's House. Outdoors, the procession moved through the grounds and out into the public spaces of Greenwich. It crossed the road, past University of Greenwich buildings to the Thames. Here, the disposition of gates and steps meant that many of the participants could not see the key moments performed there. This is where I first asked myself if I was a spectator or performing the role of a spectator for the camera. The cameras filming the occasion took the best views of the scenes, and archived them. Tupaia, represented by Kirill Burlov, had arrived here on one of two waka, paddled from upstream. The procession brought offerings, and two items of clothing: a naval jacket made of dogskin, and a korowai

[47] *Cook's New Clothes* is a collaboration between Khadija von Zinnenburg Carroll and Kirill Burlov, Ludovica Fales, Nikolaus Gansterer, Ruby Hoette, Simon Layton, Mo'ong and Keren Ruki. For further details, see: https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/schools/lcahm/news/2018/cooks-new-clothes-collaboration.aspx

made of plastic waste. Dressed in the latter, Tupaia came ashore and led the procession back to Queen's House.

Observing Tupaia performing was striking and memorable. He springs and turns, dances and hops (see figure 4.12). He uses space in ways that we do not, climbing onto statuary. He is not dressed as we are. He wears his symbolic cloak. He is barefoot in the cold rain. It is surprising to me, that, in the end, after a long, wet cacophony of a procession, I am moved by Tupaia's arrival at Queen's House. His approach to the House, especially his arrival at the threshold, conveys emotions such as curiosity, awe, apprehension, fear, and pride. When he finally crosses the threshold, when he arrives, he seems lost and confused and a short time later is dramatically dead (see figures 4.13 and 4.14).

First Procession for Tupaia was a performance conceived and produced to be archived, a self-conscious aspect of memory making that echoes the 1905 filming of Cook's arrival at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa discussed in Chapter 3. It created ambivalent relationships for the participants as both audience and performers. [48] They played the role of audience in the film that was being made. They performed as audience but how they could observe was constrained: while taking photographs, they were advised that Von Zinnenburg Carroll had given instructions that participants should not film because the film was being made.[49] All the while the film crew were visible to the performing spectators, as they took preferential viewpoints in close proximity to the performance. The film crew were the eyes of the intended audience, the viewers of the film; that we could see them was irrelevant to that end. Their visibility, their gaze at us, framed us as performers rather than audience. When

[48] Reminiscent of the performance and filming of *Two Undiscovered Amerindians Visit Chicago* by Guillermo Gomez-Pena and Coco Fusco at the Field Museum of Natural History in 1998, (Taylor, D., 1998. A Savage Performance: Guillermo Gómez-Peña and Coco Fusco's "Couple in the Cage". *TDR/The Drama Review*, *42*(2), pp.160-180).
[49] The film can be seen here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=etfhJXsvwTE, [accessed 23 November 2020].

we view the film, we see ourselves as the performers we were in the film, though our experience was something else.

Figure 4.12. Kirill Burlov, as Tupaia, in *Cook's New Clothes: First Procession for Tupaia*, at Queens' House, Royal Museums Greenwich, 22 September 2018. Photograph by the author.

The relationship of the performance to place is complex. This was not a typical site-specific performance because it was performed at more than one site: the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, where the *Endeavour* passed in 1768, and the Royal William Yard in Plymouth, where the ship left Britain on its voyage to the Pacific.[50] Moreover, the two performances were engaged in multiple relationships with place at local, national, and global scales. The performance recruited people from Te Moananui-a-Kiwa including the historic Tupaia and the contemporary waka crews that brought the actor Tupaia downstream along the Thames. The film was created for a project at Birmingham

[50] The second performance took place on 30 September 2018.

University, where it is archived. This performance is of many places, yet it is also very much of this place.

Figures 4.13, and 4.14. Kirill Burlov, as Tupaia, in *Cook's New Clothes: First Procession for Tupaia*, at Queens' House, Royal Museums Greenwich, 22 September 2018. Photographs by the author.

Most of the performance of *First Procession for Tupaia* took place well away from the National Maritime Museum and the Queen's House; indeed much of the time was spent outside the Museum grounds. It is significant that the cross-cultural performance of *First Procession for Tupaia* was played out in spaces that are peripheral to the *Pacific Encounters* gallery itself. As with the examples from the British Library and the Royal Academy above, behind the visible performance and its visible film archive were invisible cross-cultural encounters. In this case, as with the documentary film *Tupaia's Endeavour* discussed in Chapter 5, the cross-cultural encounters involved Indigenous and Western, but were overlain by encounters between the artistic and scientific cultures of the performance and the museum institution. Von Zinnenburg Carroll has written about her experience working with the National Maritime Museum on this project, raising several examples of the conflicts experienced by the film crew and the *First Procession for Tupaia* collaborative (Von Zinnenburg Carroll 2019).[51] In her reflections, framed in discourses of decolonisation, she characterises her work as a critical practice of "Museopiracy" taking inspiration from art interventions in ethnographic institutions in the 1990s and intended to create a focus on structural racism in such state or state-sponsored places. *First Procession for Tupaia* was, at least partly, about "taking control over the space of the imperial museum". Von Zinnenburg Carroll explains how she saw the ambiguous nature of the relationship between the artists and the Museum: "Officially, we are an artistic research project run by a group of artists collaborating in the Royal Museums Greenwich, yet within that my focus is on the impact of pirates, as the embodiment of disobedience, on state treasure chests" (2019: 8).

[51] The project was facilitated by a two-year Caird Fellowship funded by the National Maritime Museum. As well as the film, an edited book is also anticipated as one of the project outputs.

A scenario of encounter was performed and challenged behind the scenes. One example of contested relationships described by von Zinnenburg Carroll is illustrative: the use of dingo skin, and in particular its procession in Greenwich. Dogs are sacred animals in both Aboriginal Australian and Māori culture, and their use in valuable korowai (cloaks) is a reflection of this. It is one of the reasons artist Keren Ruki uses the material in her work.[52] However, according to Carroll, halfway through the project, with the dingo cloak playing a central role, the Museum intervened, fearing it would cause "public outrage" and "explicitly banned dingo fur from its property" (Von Zinnenberg Carroll 2019: 10). For the Museum, the issues were complex as they managed the expectations of diverse communities and stakeholders, including local residents. Stakeholder expectations may be competing or at least dissonant; and they are not static, meaning that seeking balance in dealing with them is a constant process. In the case of the dingo fur, the museum understands that its use in public workshops was not part of the original proposal. It came as a surprise when it was delivered to the museum, where it had to be quarantined and freeze-treated. At the time of the workshop, local community concerns around the fur trade had become highly charged, and this was one of the key features in the museum's decision (Bligh, pers. comm. 2020).

A second issue raised by Von Zinnenburg Carroll concerns "the supremacy of the 'artefact'" in which term she includes the architecture and highlights the same issue raised above of the bookcases in which the Rangiiwaho artists installed their work. More broadly, Von Zinnenburg Carroll highlights the contrast between order and disorder as an underlying feature of the relationship between the museum and the project. The museum was cast as "[a] structure so imperial it needs the insertion of feral artists to affirm the pristine edifice

[52] Artist and Curator, Pacific, First Peoples Art and Culture at Tasmania Museum and Art Gallery: www.linkedin.com/in/keren-ruki-61069936.

as a separate order" (2019: 10). Such casting works both ways, however: museopirates definitively need museums, and disobedience can only exist in relation to rules.

Is there more to emerge from such encounters than an apparent mutual reiteration of oppositional identities? A continuing dialogue might enable other outcomes, if a place for such conversations can be identified. In the meantime, speculation about alternative uses of space and formulations of relationship with reference to the experiences of the other institutions is one way to look for ideas. In contrast with the Royal Academy's opening of *Oceania*, which started outside and moved into the main building through the main entrance, *First Procession for Tupaia* was relegated to liminal spaces, both geographically and organisationally by the Museum. This marginalised the physical and social relationships, leading to the performance not 'speaking' to the institution in as direct and powerful a way as it had at the Royal Academy. With that reference point, it is possible to imagine and interesting to consider the impact of some version of, or successor to, *Cook's New Clothes: First Procession for Tupaia* starting and finishing in the main Museum building, with senior Museum staff participating. As it was, the institution preferred a different stage.

The National Maritime Museum held its Gala Opening of their new galleries on 19 September 2018 in Neptune Court – the building's largest space, which houses The Great Map. Attendance was by invitation, and involved staff and associates, artists, community members, donors, and entertainers. Dignitaries opened the proceedings. Speeches were made by Sir David Attenborough; Michael Ellis MP, Parliamentary Undersecretary for Arts, Heritage and Tourism at the Department of Culture, Media and Sport; Dr Kevin Fewster, Director, Royal Museums Greenwich; and Ros Kerslake, Heritage Lottery Fund chief executive. This event was not framed as a performance like *First Procession for Tupaia*, but rather as an institutional opening ceremony. The symbolism of the largest space at the heart

of the building and its appropriation for this opening ceremony imbue it with status. This opening event was reminiscent of the earlier twentieth-century commemorations in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa discussed in Chapter 3. For example, architecture was central to defining the location of the ceremony. Also, there was a formal ceremonial structure to the event and speeches were the main performances. Most of the dignitaries, apart from Sir David Attenborough, were performing their institutional roles; they were taking their professional and institutional places on the stage. Museum Director Kevin Fewster highlighted the link between the *Pacific Encounters* gallery and Cook, and he referred to the institution's infrastructure, its staff, contractors, sponsors, school students, researchers, community groups, the public, and to HRH Prince Phillip. Ros Kerslake referred to her own institution, the Heritage Lottery Fund, to the National Maritime Museum team, volunteers, partners, supporters, and Lottery players. She was keen to highlight the importance of Cook: "I think 2018 felt like the moment for this gallery really, the 250th anniversary of Cook's first voyage to the Pacific in *Endeavour*, it felt particularly timely. I hope these galleries will bring back some sense of what was an incredibly adventurous age in our history."[53]

There was relatively little mention of Indigenous peoples in these speeches, and what there was, could be described as a form of collecting. Ros Kerslake recounted an anecdote about a contemporary cross-cultural encounter at which she was not present. In talking about "the gentleman with the tattoo," she noted that he "was able to share the history of that carving and the history of the object so that it became much more meaningful and I think that's just one example of the museum's commitment to working with communities and to understanding shared histories". Michael Ellis MP noted the opportunity to both

[53] This and all other quotes and attributions in this paragraph and the one that follows are taken from my recording of the speeches made at the Gala Opening.

“celebrate the legacy and the impact of James Cook's historic explorations,” and to “unpick Cook's story from the point of view of those communities he encountered during his voyages”. He mainly used the opportunity to promote his agenda: “I'm actively encouraging the National Partnerships Framework and the Shared Solution projects.”

Figure 4.15. Michael Ellis MP, parliamentary undersecretary for arts, heritage and tourism at the Department of Culture, Media and Sport, speaking at the Gala Opening of the National Maritime Museum’s four new galleries, 19 September 2018. Photograph by the author.

In contrast, Sir David Attenborough’s speech was personal and seemed devoid of any institutional agenda and full of admiration for artists and Tāngata Moananui. He recalled his experience of the museum in the 1930s, and his personal viewing and understanding of the significance of the galleries. His speech celebrated the extraordinary navigational skills of Polynesian peoples: “It is a triumph of humanity which took place a long time before anybody from this side of the world went into the Pacific. And, of course, these galleries also deal with the way in which those people met. And that's a story which we need to ponder, because today we are all bound to this one globe and we must all work together to look

after it." The cross-cultural encounters that took place in Neptune Court were not archived and so were not made available by the Museum to the public. [54] If the Maritime Museum did record their official view of the experience, it is not currently shared with the public alongside the exhibition galleries. The speeches that took place, the framing of Indigenous participation, and the references to place, from the institution to the globe via the British nation, were left in the experiences of those who were present. They are only available for reflection to the extent that they have been written about elsewhere. They remain mostly hidden and so what they can tell us about the way the scenario of encounter frames events remains inaccessible. Some of the questions that might be addressed include 'What was the status of Indigenous people in the encounter?' and 'What power relationships are visible?' No Indigenous people made speeches. Their status as far as the institution was concerned was reflected in their absence from the ceremonial part of the event. That performance was dominated by the institution and its state relationships through ministerial sponsorship and governmental funding policies. The speeches reveal that Indigenous people are primarily being engaged as 'source communities' from whom information can be collected to add to the knowledge and status of the institutions, rather than as owners of objects and possessors of embodied knowledge about them. Indigenous people present were also cast as witnesses, echoing the 'validation' of the territorial claims of Columbus by Indigenous witnesses described by Taylor.[55] The group Beats of Polynesia also provided entertainment before and after the speeches.[56]

[54] An exception in this case is the use of Sir David Attenborough's Gala Opening speech to voice over an introductory video to the *Pacific Encounters* gallery here: https://www.rmg.co.uk/see-do/we-recommend/attractions/pacific-encounters, [accessed 9 October 2020].
[55] Taylor (2003). *The Archive and the Repertoire*: 57.
[56] Beats of Polynesia were founded in 2005. The group is "dedicated to upholding traditional forms of the culture while incorporating the popular modern dance & music, accompanied by live drumming with the UK's

Figure 4.16. A performance by Beats of Polynesia at the National Maritime Museum's Gala Opening, 19 September 2018, Photograph by the author.

4.4. Archive, Repertoire, and Place

As Taylor explains, the archive and the repertoire exist in dynamic relationships with each other, and such relationships are visible in the diverse institutional spaces I have described. The examples above demonstrate that the relationships between archive and repertoire are not the same everywhere. Here, I make two main observations. Firstly, institutions control the ways distinctions are made between how archive and repertoire are placed. In doing so, they also control what is framed as an artefact and what is not, and between what is framed

only traditional and authentic Cook Island log wood drums," Matters Musical 2020 Beats of Polynesia. *Matters Musical* [online] Available at https://www.mattersmusical.com/artists/beats-of-polynesia/, [accessed 30 November 2020].

as a performance and what is not. Secondly, where Indigenous performance is placed, and how Indigenous people used those spaces, reveal ways in which they function as microsites of challenge and resistance.

Within the exhibition galleries institutions prioritised what Taylor refers to as the archive. Where Indigenous performance was admitted into the galleries, it was typically translated into archive form, as illustrated by *In Pursuit of Venus [infected]*. Performances of the scenario of encounter in the present, such as the principal gallery opening events, were rarely archived. Whether archived or not, the institutional presence was not viewed 'as performance', whereas the Indigenous presence was cast as 'a performance'. The effect of this distinction is that the scenario of encounter in the present is effectively rendered invisible. Indigenous performances were more common in the liminal spaces and archiving of them less common. Here too, the scenario within and to the institution remains hidden. It appears to take artistic or academic reflection and publication, more than internal reflection by the institution to bring it into focus.

Nonetheless, the space in which encounters take place – core and liminal – and the form in which they take place – archive and repertoire – still offer opportunities for Indigenous agency, even while both place and form affect how that agency manifests or can be activated. Artists working in archive forms such as *Tūhuratanga: Voyages of Discovery* challenged the brief and asserted their agency. Archived repertoire such as *In Pursuit of Venus [infected]* challenged its status as an example of Taylor's archival form through its remarkable use of repertoire. Performances such as Ngāti Rānana's participation at the opening of *James Cook: The Voyages* became acts of diplomacy. Thus, the small spaces as well as the larger spaces became places where both the narrative and the broader scenario of encounter were, or could have been, contested. Such spaces ranged from the site of the

individual exhibit or body, through individual galleries and performances, to whole exhibitions and public programmes. While much of the contemporary performance of the scenario of encounter remained invisible, where it was visible, notably at the opening procession and blessing of *Oceania*, it reflected conscious intent to understand and adapt the scenario of encounter. Across these events there is widespread evidence of learning within the institutions, including targeted examples, such as efforts to ensure adequate funding is available for co-curation.[57]

Alongside such positive conclusions, there are other examples that suggest ways in which the scenario of encounter still tends to dominate the spaces. Firstly, the archive is evidently more important to the institutions than the repertoire. In both *James Cook: The Voyages*, where voices were framed within audio-visual installations, and *Oceania* with its very minimal interpretative labelling, the objects were expected to speak for themselves. The archive is assumed to be distinct from the repertoire, to be authoritative and neutral, and to perpetuate 'real' knowledge. Repertoire is assumed to be ephemeral, subjective, and often cast as entertainment. The former is simple, clear, and coherent; the latter is complex, multi-layered, and dissonant. Thus, the archive is privileged in core gallery spaces. Where the repertoire is admitted to these spaces, it is corralled, circumscribed, and distanced to avoid contaminating the institutional voice. The repertoire is typically pushed to liminal spaces. There, certain types of behaviour are framed as performances; most obviously those that meet the criteria of entertainment, illustrated by the contrast at the Gala Opening between the speakers and Beats of Polynesia. The way the institution's behaviour is framed is different. Where challenges to the scenario of encounter were performed, and where

[57] MP4, pers. comm. 2018.

they were translated into archive, they were not inscribed as equally valid knowledges, nor recognised and accepted as valid challenges; rather, they served as evidence of a progressive, enlightened institution.

4.5. Conclusions: The Scenario of Encounter

The first element of the scenario of encounter proposed in this thesis is that of contact. I have argued in this chapter that here, as in previous chapters, this contact is typically imposed in the context of unequal power relationships. It was imposed by the landing of the Endeavours in October 1769 and it may be imposed when Western academics, including myself, write about those events. It may also be imposed by the choice of commemorative dates and the creation of meanings around them by settler societies. In the cultural institutions that are the focus of this chapter, contact is imposed by possession of taonga. As the artists from Ngāti Rangiiwaho explained: "Why bother dealing with the European museums? The reason is that we've got stuff there…" (artist 1) "… they've got our goodies …" (artist 2) "… that's the only reason." (artist 1).[58] As at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa in 1769, the choices about whether to engage in encounter are far from simple. The Ngāti Rangiiwaho artists were highly sensitive to the risks involved in engaging with museums and have been advised by others in their communities to be careful. As one of them put it: "The coloniser makes it attractive for us to go over there, but we've got to be very careful about what we do with our narrative. We give our narrative to someone over there, and we become null and void" (artist 1). The embodiment of the narrative is of fundamental importance, as Taylor also clearly recognises in A*rchive and Repertoire*.

[58] Interview 12, 8 November 2020.

Once contact has been made, the recognition of cultural differences and differences in expectations may be experienced as dissonance – discomfort and misunderstanding as well as learning and creativity. In unequal power relationships, if difference and discomfort are subdued by the powerful, so is possibility. The cross-cultural encounters created by the 2018 exhibitions were diverse, but the unequal power relationships had clear impacts on how they took place. While some possibilities were recognised, others were subdued by the dominance of the institutions. The exercise of power by the institutions is evident in the decisions they made about the use of space and the ways that key aspects of the scenario of encounter were defined.

In controlling the spaces, institutions controlled both narrative and scenario, defining what was archive and what was repertoire, deciding what was performed, how it was performed, and whether it was archived. The Invisible framing of what is or is not artefact is also a powerful act of control of the scenario of encounter. By focusing on the archive as artefacts, commissioning their creation and inviting collaboration around them, and by excluding the infrastructure and architecture that defines the spaces themselves, the institutions rendered invisible their control of the biggest archive of all – their collections and their buildings, the institutions themselves.[59] In this context, Diana Taylor's broad use of the concept of archive to include those elements offers a direct challenge. Here, the scenario of encounter continues to perpetuate inequalities in part because it is the institution that frames what is archive and what is repertoire, that frames what counts as archive or architecture, and frames which events are performances and which constitute unexamined performance. While the inclusion of contemporary artists might offer

[59] Griffiths and Baker's recent (2019) commentary has drawn attention to such issues in relation to the Royal Geographical Society's Lowther Lodge at Kensington Gore.

recognition that Indigenous peoples are contemporary participants in contemporary exhibitions, the spaces into which they are admitted, and the ways their contributions are framed in them, continue to be dominated by the institution.

Beyond the galleries, the chapter also examined the subtle and mainly invisible ways in which institutions perpetuate the scenario of encounter in public events linked to exhibitions. I participated in several of these while undertaking my field work, including the performance of *Procession for Tupaia*.[60] Such public events were important liminal sites where the scenario of encounter was not only asserted, but also challenged. Ahilapalapa Rands expressed this in her reflection on the British Library's *'Why was Captain Cook killed?'* panel that I also attended: "While the discussion dealt with this complicated, fascinating moment of our shared histories, it featured and was chaired by only British anthropologists, so all substance was taken from it. This is a distinctly nuanced Hawaiian event and yet the British Library still decides to hold a conversation like that without including voices from the Pacific". For Jo Walsh, "crediting and asserting authority and the whakapapa to the source of knowledge is incredibly important to any of our practices going forward".[61] Not including voices from the Pacific is one issue, how you include voices from the Pacific is another. On 21 May 2018, fellow doctoral candidate Joy Slappnig and I gave a talk on Indigenous Mapping, also as part of the British Library's James Cook exhibition's public programme.[62] During the discussion, Indigenous members of the audience asked important questions such as "Have you considered your positionality as white Western academics talking about Indigenous mapping?" The broader points raised include the absence of Indigenous voices

[60] *Cook's New Clothes: First Performance for Tupaia,* at the National Maritime Museum. I also took part in workshops, talks as both spectator and speaker, seminars, and watched several other performances.
[61] Rands and Walsh (2018).
[62] *Wood and Water, Lines and Sand: Indigenous Mapping*, https://www.bl.uk/events/wood-and-water-lines-and-sand-indigenous-mapping, [accessed 19 October 2020].

and authority in the talk. Contemporary Indigenous voices were present only in the audience. Both Slappnig and I welcomed the questions and stated our wish to discuss the issues raised. Indigenous people have expressed the issues involved in such discussions, such as the imposition, effectiveness, and exhaustion of trying to decolonise the academy or the museum.[63] That work is ours in the academy and museums to do. Yet such brief questions and conversations at public events programmes are deeply important. That they are asked in the forum of talks and not in the preparation of the public programme reflects the underlying scenario of encounter, and so they offer rare opportunities as sites of contest. If not here, then where? If not in this way, then how? These are not rhetorical questions; the answers to them impact on all the issues raised in this chapter.

Behind-the-scenes cross-cultural encounters were also generated in the processes of creating the exhibitions and their public programmes. These encounters can also be viewed 'as performance'. They are rarely or incompletely translated into archival forms, and where they are, those forms remain invisible in important ways. I gained an insight into some of the behind the scenes work to create *Oceania*, *James Cook: The Voyages*, and the four new National Maritime Museum galleries, including *Pacific Encounters,* through my participation in the three Travellers' Tails workshops introduced in Chapter 1. The workshops were led by the National Maritime Museum to facilitate the exchange of experience and learning between professionals involved in the exhibitions. From my experience both in these workshops and through the wider network of British Library staff working on *James Cook: The Voyages*, I conclude that such behind-the-scenes encounters are not often reflected on,

[63] Cairns, Puawai (Ngāi Te Rangi, Ngāti Ranginui, Ngāti Pūkenga) Head of Mātauranga Māori (Head of the taonga Māori collection) at Te Papa at the time of publication. Cairns, P. (2018) *Decolonisation: we aren't going to save you*. [blog] Center for the Future of Museums, American Alliance of Museums, 17 December 2018. Available at: https://www.aam-us.org/2018/12/17/decolonisation-we-arent-going-to-save-you/, [accessed 23 November 2020].

whether 'as performance' or not. They are typically not recorded in any form. Even if they are archived, for example in the minutes of internal meetings, then they are rarely displayed as part of the gallery space, or otherwise made available by the institution to the wider public.[64] Travellers' Tails participants suggested that it would have been inappropriate for the institution to publicly express, for example in the exhibition itself or in its publicity material, some of the important elements of its relationships with its communities, including its relationships with Indigenous peoples, although they did not specify why. Clearly there are ethical issues involved when recording and representing cross-cultural encounters that take place almost entirely behind the scenes. There was a widespread recognition in the workshops that managing relationships with all communities, not only Indigenous peoples, are forms of cross-cultural encounters, and can be stressful in many ways for all participants. For the institutions, learning and community teams are often the intermediaries. Institutional fear of the unknown or resistance to challenge or change is often mediated by these intermediaries, who take personal and professional risks, in, for example, delegating any degree of autonomy to those outside the institution. There was also widespread recognition among the participants that "some stories are not ours to tell". The spatial and temporal separations identified in the examples above, acting as proxies for social separation, are responses to managing such issues and risks. Communities and professionals are working hard to find better ways, and to archive the process. One recent example is *Decolonising Cultural Spaces: The Living Cultures Project*, a 2020 film about cross-

[64] A notable exception was the British Museum's 2015 exhibition, *Indigenous Australia: enduring civilisation*, in which extracts of and references to internal documents relating to a declined repatriation request were displayed. *Indigenous Australia: enduring civilisation*. Curated by Gaye Sculthorpe. British Museum, London, 23 April – 2 August 2015.

cultural work at the Pitt Rivers Museum.[65] The tension in cross-cultural encounters is very clearly visible in the film. The commitment to recording and sharing the process is a significant step forward and demonstrates that there are opportunities to bring the scenario of encounter into focus as a step towards changing the ways it has played out for so long.

Opportunities for changes to the scenario of encounter are also clear from the diversity of institutional approaches to the 2018 exhibitions discussed in this chapter. The decisions that were taken at all three institutions about what kind of opening events to perform and where to perform them clearly varied. Time and space were used differently, manifesting a variety of power relationships between the participants in the framing of each encounter. How Indigenous people chose to engage with the scenario also varied. Consciously or unconsciously the decisions of both institutions and Indigenous participants impacted on the scenario of encounter that played out. Most importantly, those decisions also set valuable precedents for the ways the scenario of encounter might play out in future cross-cultural encounters.

The ways in which resolution, the third element in my proposed scenario of encounter, was present in or absent from both 'the archive and the repertoire' are also worthy of reflection. The forms include several examples that were open-ended and multi-vocal, such as the audio-visual installations in *James Cook: The Voyages* at the British Library, and the content of the *Pacific Encounters* gallery at the National Maritime Museum. In the latter case, moreover, the contemporary Indigenous installations are under an initial

[65] *"'Decolonising Cultural Spaces: The Living Cultures Project'* is a full-length documentary produced by InsightShare, made by Zoe Broughton, coordinated by InsightShare, Oltoilo la Maa (Voice of the Maasai) and Oxford University Pitt Rivers Museum, in partnership with the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge. The documentary follows a delegation of seven Maasai representatives from Tanzania and Kenya who spend two weeks in the UK working alongside British museums to decolonise cultural spaces by making them aware of their colonial history and how this can be addressed responsibly." A trailer for the film, the source of this text, can be seen here: https://youtu.be/MNev9Pi61mk. The full length documentary is here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3midDMjvlLo.

contract for three years, with options for change thereafter. Among the institutional performances, too, the opening procession of the Royal Academy's *Oceania* included multiple voices and a successful experience of dissonance in a ritual challenge on arrival at Burlington House. Other performances, however, asserted a harmonious resolution, dominated by the institution, with the example of the National Maritime Museum's Gala Opening illustrating the point. Recording such performances is important in making them visible, of framing them as worthy of attention. If institutions themselves do not archive the repertoire of encounter, it can remain invisible to them and others, raising questions about how encounters can be understood or challenged, and how the scenario of encounter risks being perpetuated as a result. Beyond the institution, reflection and research by Indigenous artists themselves or by academics may translate the repertoire of these contemporary relationships into archive form. Yet such a process leaves this archive outside the institution and raises questions about the institution's engagement with it. Can the museum decolonise itself if the scenario of encounter remains invisible to it? Where can conversations about such encounters take place?

Chapter 5. *Tupaia's Endeavour*: Filming and Making History

At historic moments, two, three, even four generations are sometimes compressed and co-exist within the lived experience of a single hour.
John Berger, *Photocopies*, 1996.

5.1. Introduction

> October 8, 1769, Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, North Island, East Coast, Aotearoa, New Zealand. On the east side of the Tūranganui River, Te Maro, a rangatira [chief] of the tribe Te Oneone, lies dead. On the west side of the river, warriors of the Rongowhakaata iwi are amassing. And in the middle, Lieutenant James Cook. And then the marines parted and from their midst emerged a Tahitian, Tupaia.
>
> Tupaia, star navigator, 'arioi. For over two centuries this story lay dormant in the official retelling, consigned to the shadows by Captain Cook's overwhelming celebrity.[1]

This opening sequence in Cut 3 of the feature film *Tupaia's Endeavour* by film maker Lala Rolls presents Tupaia front and centre of the first contacts between Māori and the Endeavours, effectively side-lining Cook himself. Cook's celebrity has been so overwhelming that he is still credited by many with discovering New Zealand and Australia, neither of which he did. The opening sequence clearly shows that this film takes a different view of that scenario of discovery, with a different central figure – Tupaia. As one of the film's interviewees, Anne Iranui McGuire (Te Aitanga a Hauiti), tells us early in the film: "To our people, he was the chief. He was the captain of that boat. … My tīpuna (ancestors) particularly my great-grandfather and my grandmother would say, 'Who was Captain Cook?

[1] Opening voiceover of the film by Kirk Torrance, *Tupaia's Endeavour* Cut 3: 00:00:28 – 00:01:30, and 00:02:05 – 00:02:18.

Well, we don't know much about him. But he did have one of our tīpuna with him, and our tipuna came from Rangiātea, and his name was Tupaia'" (*Tupaia's Endeavour,* Cut 3, 00:02:25 – 00:02:55).

Figure 5.1. Tupaia emerges from the midst of the British landing party on the second day. Drawing by Michael Tuffery, Tupaia played by Kirk Torrance. *Tupaia's Endeavour*, Cut 3, (00:01:26).

Tupaia's Endeavour is a contemporary view from the Pacific of the life of Tupaia, and his relationships with the historic events of James Cook's first voyage to the Pacific in the *Endeavour* from 1768-1771. Tupaia's life intersected with Cook's between the *Endeavour's* arrival in Tahiti-nui, where he joined the ship on 13 July 1769, and Batavia (Jakarta), where he died on 11 November 1770. This chapter examines how *Tupaia's Endeavour* disrupts the narrative so common to histories of Cook's first voyage, and beyond that, the scenario of encounter that frames it. We have seen in the foregoing chapters examples of both narrative and scenario in different forms, in historians' written work from historic to contemporary periods, in commemorative events, and in exhibitions. The scenario has also

been and still is evident in film and television. From Major Perry's e-enactment film of 1905, through *Your Most Humble and Obedient Servant, James Cook*, produced in 1970 by the New Zealand National Film Unit to Sam Neill's *Uncharted*, which aired in Aotearoa New Zealand in 2018, the narrative is framed by Cook's life and times, and by Cook's voyages. Many things changed during that period, especially between 1970 and 2018, as noted in Chapter 3, and the effect of some of those changes are apparent in *Uncharted*. Neill's *Uncharted* looks at Cook's voyages from 'both sides of the beach', and includes contemporary Pākehā and Māori views, with "not a feathered quill in sight."[2] The underlying scenario, however, has stayed much the same, and it still revolves around Cook and the settler community. *Tupaia's Endeavour's* disrupts both the traditional narrative and the continuity of the scenario of encounter. It disrupts the narrative through a fundamental reframing and a fundamental retelling. The story is no longer about Cook; it is about Tupaia's life and times and the retelling is by Tāngata Moana, principally for a Māori audience. It disrupts the scenario by including its own making, with evidence of production processes and technology woven throughout the film.

In section 5.2, I examine the film's disruption of the orthodox narrative of the *Endeavour* voyage through its representations of time and place and its focus on relationships between people and place. In section 5.3, I look at the film maker, the making contexts and the making processes. I look at the visibility of its making in the film, and how *Tupaia's Endeavour* makes history as well as tells it. As we follow the main narrative about Tupaia, we also follow three contemporary Tāngata Moana men as they themselves learn about Tupaia's life. It is through them that the film is transformed from telling history to

[2] Hughes, O., (2018). Uncharted: Sam Neill explores Captain Cook's travels from 'both sides of the beach.' [blog] *James Cook 250 Blog*. Available at: http://jamescook250.org/uncharted-sam-neill-explores-captain-cooks-travels-from-both-sides-of-the-beach/, [accessed 22 October 2020].

making history. All three are Pacific Islanders and so what we see is Pacific Islander history being made by Pacific Islanders. I consider here how the film performs both Tupaia's narrative and the metanarrative of Pacific Islander history making during its production encounters. With production taking place over nine years, repeat visits to the same locations are filmed, and so we see knowledge being created and activated from body to body. One of the most important ways this is achieved is through film maker Lala Rolls' decision to break the film's fourth wall.[3]

5.2. Tupaia's Endeavour: Narrative Challenges

Tupaia's Endeavour is a film project created by Lala Rolls, award-winning director and editor for film and television and founding director of Island Productions (Aotearoa) Ltd. Her work includes the notable documentary *Children of the Migration* (2004). The feature edition of *Tupaia's Endeavour* premiered at the New Zealand International Film Festival in July 2020. As mentioned in Chapter 1, this analysis focuses on Cut 3, which was the latest edit when I undertook my analysis. *Tupaia's Endeavour* is composed from five main types of material: interviews with experts; re-enactments of some of the events from the first encounters at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa; readings from some of the Endeavours' journals; images drawn by expedition draughtsman Sydney Parkinson, Tupaia, and artist Michael Tuffery;[4] and the

[3] The fourth wall is a theatrical term that captures the idea of an invisible wall between the stage and the audience. While the audience can see the performance, the actors behave as if they cannot see the audience, as if there is a wall between them. Breaking the fourth wall is a term used where this convention is not followed. On stage, actors may speak directly to the audience. In the case of *Tupaia's Endeavour*, the film makers don't directly address the audience, but behave in different ways as if there was no fourth wall. For example, crew members are visible and planning for re-enactment improvisations is woven into the film.
[4] Michael Tuffery is one of New Zealand's best-known artists and has exhibited across the Pacific, gaining several awards, including the New Zealand Order of Merit in the Queen's Birthday Honours List 2008.

voiceover text written by Rolls and performed by actor Kirk Torrance.[5] Torrance also appears both as Tupaia in the re-enactment scenes, and as himself, one of the three contemporary voyagers discovering Tupaia's story. The other two are Michael Tuffery and Paul Tapsell.[6]

The opening sequence at the start of this chapter clearly reveals the techniques by which *Tupaia's Endeavour* represents time and place: for example, time is defined in terms of Tupaia's narrative; place is defined in relation to the Pacific. It is in large part the combined effects of the film's reconfigurations of time and place that contest previous narratives, which as Torrance remarks in the opening sequence voiceover, has been dominated until now by Cook's "overwhelming celebrity".

5.2.1 Time

The film starts with a precise date. Yet this is clearly not a beginning, because in the second sentence we learn that someone is already dead. The scene stages an alternative to the familiar colonial moment of a nation's birth. Instead, we see a Māori leader and bear witness to his death. This is one of a series of events immediately set within Tupaia's biography. We are also told that this story has been dormant, thus alive, and that it is now being retold in the present. That the film is a process is signalled early, with the recounting of oral histories. Through this, we learn that the present moment is not singular either, for it is told from multiple individual perspectives.

[5] Kirk Torrance is an award-winning stage, film and television actor, playwright and director and an ex-Commonwealth Games swimmer.
[6] Paul Tapsell is Professor of Indigenous Studies at Melbourne University and Director, Collections and Research at Museums Victoria. He was Tumuaki/Director Māori of Tamaki Paenga Hira/Auckland Museum from 2000-2008.

Following the opening sequence, serving as an overture of the main themes, the narrative starts with a detailed foundation of Tupaia's biography in the Society Islands. The central section of the film covers his time with the *Endeavour*'s journey to Aotearoa New Zealand, and especially the first encounters with Māori at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa and Ūawa. The film ends with his death. Thus, Tupaia's life is clearly the focus of the film's narrative, within which his time on the *Endeavour* is set. It is this narrative framing that distinguishes *Tupaia's Endeavour* from conventional histories of the *Endeavour*. In most retellings of the *Endeavour* voyage, the expedition is framed as one of Cook's three Pacific voyages, and set within his biography. Well-known examples of postcolonial readings of the voyage which retain this structure include Anne Salmond's *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog* and Nicholas Thomas's *Discoveries*.[7] Each of these covers all three voyages and includes the context of Cook's life and times. As we have seen in Chapter 2, they both in their own ways aim to balance the Western contexts with those of the Pacific. *Tupaia's Endeavour* is different. Rather than European and Pacific balance within a Cook narrative framing, it focuses on Tupaia's biography and his Pacific context, in which Cook and the people of the *Endeavour* take part.

While settler New Zealand's colonial story typically starts in Poverty Bay, *Tupaia's Endeavour* starts in Ra'iātea.[8] Tupaia's own story starts there and the site is referenced several times as a source of Māori culture and migration to Aotearoa New Zealand.[9] We return to this place throughout the film, and we come to rest there with Tupaia's spirit at the end, as we witness grieving at his home marae of Taputapuatea. There is temporal

[7] A notable exception is Peter Moore's 2018 *Endeavour: The Ship and the Attitude that Changed the World*, in which Cook's voyage is framed within the narrative of the ship.
[8] Also spelled as Rangiātea, this is currently one of the Society Islands of French Polynesia.
[9] Locally, the island is also known as Hava'i, and is thus associated with the Māori homeland of Hawaiki.

circularity here, breaking with a traditional linear Western narrative. Other cycles evident in the film include the returns to Tahiti and to the UK, including the installation in Tahiti of a carving of Tupaia by the Pacific Voyagers,[10] greeted with the word "Tupaia is here again".[11] Repetition, slightly different each time, suggests a cyclical or spiralling view of time and history. This contrasts with the use of the reference maps when focused on the *Endeavour*, where more familiar Western conceptions of time and place are apparent. On the maps are dates and routes, following the paths of the *Endeavour* stage by stage from Tahiti to Jakarta.

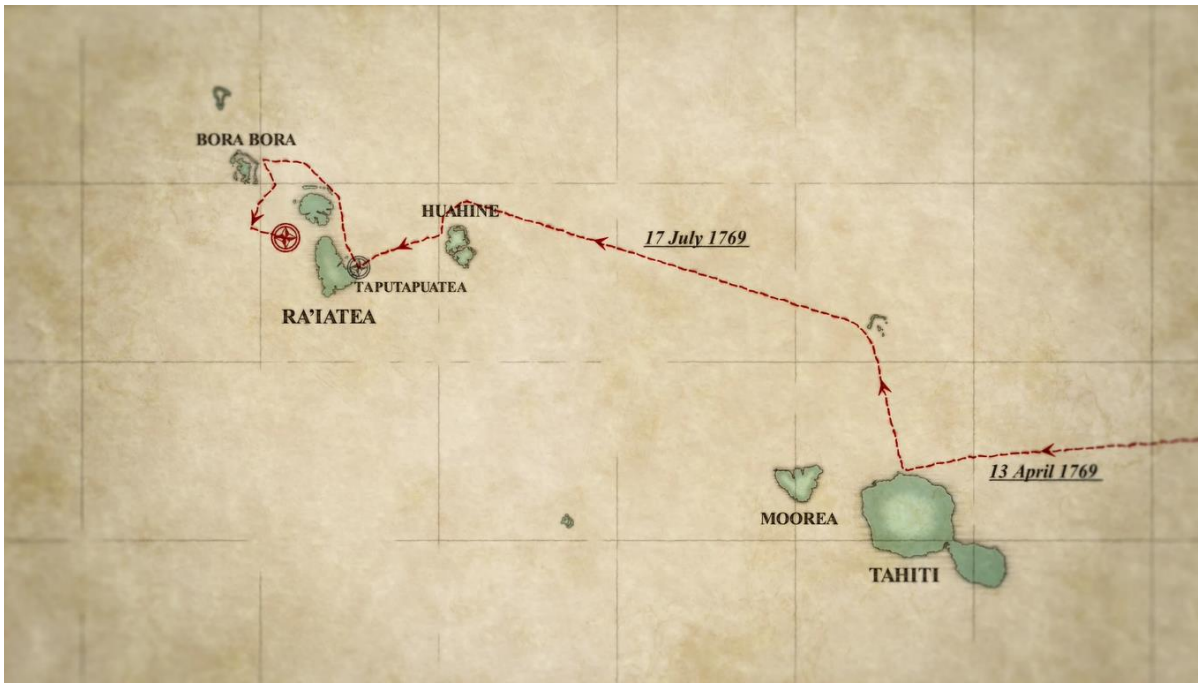

Figure 5.2. "The *Endeavour* also disappeared from view." *Tupaia's Endeavour*, Cut 3, (00:40:38).

The telling of the narratives of the three contemporary voyagers underscores the fact that much of the film's narrative is of the present. This is in the very fabric of the film and is

[10] The Pacific Voyagers project, Tavaru – The Long Voyage Home, was a long-term voyaging project making several long ocean trips over several years. More details can be found here: http://ranui.co.nz/voyages/tavaru/. The film crew of *Tupaia's Endeavour* met a fleet of seven Pacific Voyager waka (canoes) twice during the production process. Members of the crews are included in the film.
[11] *Tupaia's Endeavour,* Cut 3, (02:02:38).

apparent in how it is conceived and made, as we shall see in the next section. Some of the interviewees clearly state that their views are from the present "as much as it's possible to do at this distance," as Anne Salmond notes. Two of the film's participants (Anne Iranui McGuire and Paul Tapsell) explicitly acknowledge that their appreciation of the historic records is rooted in their present lives, as they validate the oral histories that they have grown up with. As the Endeavours' original journal records are drawn into this telling of Tupaia's story, so they are drawn into Māori lives today. This immersion in the present is also evident when two other participants, Barney Tupara (Ngāti Oneone, Rongowhakaata, Te Aitanga ā Hauiti) and Jodie Wyllie (Rongowhakaata) refer to the place names in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa Poverty Bay. Why, they ask, because of Cook's perspective on his brief time here, should this place be known as Poverty Bay when it is and was a fertile land? This place, they point out, already had and still has a name, a Māori name, Tūranganui-a-Kiwa.

The view from the present is also evident in the fact that the UK cultural institutions featured in the film – The British Library, The British Museum, the Pitt-Rivers Museum, and the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology – are represented by their current holdings, either on display or in storage. The taonga that are shown are presented firmly in their current institutional context – with their curators, in museum cases, in conservation materials, labelled and catalogued. It is a feature of the film's texture that such scenes are composed as if witnessed through the eyes of the three modern voyagers, rather than narrated in the voiceover. The past lives of these taonga are reflected on by the modern voyagers. The question of the future fate of the taonga, however, is not mentioned. It is a characteristic of the way the film approaches contentious issues that the subject of repatriation is not raised directly, but that the situation is revealed to the gazes of the Māori visitors, and those of the film's audiences. The future is left open, undefined. The

perspective of the present is also visible in the crew's encounter with the Pacific Voyagers in Tahiti. We see contemporary young sailors on the waka and hear Pacific Voyagers Hoturoa Kerr (Ngāti Mahuta, Ngāti Hikairo, Ngāti Pukenga) and Tawhana James Chadwick (Ngati Kahungunu) telling us about the contemporary sharing of navigational skills and how it is meaningful to young Māori people today, connecting them both through time and space to Pacific Islands and the navigational masters of the past.

In addition to viewing the past from the present, *Tupaia's Endeavour* reveals and highlights explicit links between the past and the present, denying any separation between the two. Modern practices of past activities are often shown, such as the contemporary practices of traditional medicine, waka built using modern materials on the Tūranganui River, and the Pacific Voyagers project crews sailing and talking about the huge geographical range of their journeys; the sea is their home today, as it was for Tupaia and other Pacific Island navigators in the past. There are further examples in interviews throughout the film. In his interview, Nick Tupara explains how tīpuna are present with us today and he explicitly denies a separation between the past and the present: "In whakapapa (genealogy) terms, that ancestor was there yesterday and will be there today. We don't have a sense of the time [Nick makes a linear gesture with his arm]. Your ancestors and my ancestors exist today, and we exist today. We're all still on the same time" (00:54:24 – 00:54:43). Barney Tupara refers to present sadness about these events: "There is a sadness that pervades us for one of ours who fell, indeed who was murdered, by Captain Cook and the others" (00:46:05 – 00:46:48). Anne Salmond refers to those today who are connected to their ancestors: "For somebody like Tupaia, talking to the ancestors was part of his technology […] and there are a lot of people today too, who've got that, who've still got that sense of access to the ancestors, and talk to them as though they're just through the door" (00:14:05

– 00:16:26). A very specific example of this features at the start of the interview with Viriamu Tupaia,[12] translated on screen for us by Teamio Tuarau:[13]: "Viriamu was telling me before this interview that he didn't sleep very well last night. Tupaia's ancestors came to visit him, and said it is a most important thing you do tomorrow" (00:35:35 – 00:36:04). While these are examples of the past speaking to the present, the present also speaks to the past. Nick Tupara describes the motivations of the men who took part in the haka:

> I went out to the marae a couple of weeks before the shoot here to find out whether or not they'd want to come in, and if they did come in, what was expected of them. Then we had to have a kind of little discussion about Cook. Because they, like myself, have grown up feeling very negatively towards Cook because of what Cook did to our ancestors. Part of them coming forward and getting involved in this was an opportunity to give a haka back to Cook (00:53:34 – 00:54:12).

In addition to these examples from the spoken narrative of how past and present exist together, there are also visual and auditory clues which signal a different sense of time. Past times are signified by flashes of colour over the marae scenes; archive footage of an *Endeavour* replica; coarse, sepia-like footage representing the moment Tupaia was injured during an attack launched from Bora Bora on his early home in Raʻiātea; and overlays of past and present scenes in the same location. While these visual devices may mark time differences, distinguishing past from present, they also convey the idea of a continuing presence of tīpuna in the contemporary world by their physical co-presence or juxtaposition on the screen with people and events in the present. Finally, there are two significant scenes of mourning in the present: one in response to the deaths at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, and the one already mentioned, to mourn Tupaia's death at his home marae at Taputapuatea.

[12] Tahitian elder, with a lineage to Tupaia.
[13] Tahitian translator and cultural revivalist.

Figure 5.3. Mourning the deaths at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa: Christine Moetara, Ata-Ria Waitai, Piata Waitai (Rongowhakaata), *Tupaia's Endeavour*, Cut 3, (01:06:36).

5.2.2. Place

As well as presenting a particular view of time, the narrative of *Tupaia's Endeavour* uses significant spatial signifiers. Right at the start of the film, our attention is drawn to the two sides of the river where dramatic events are taking place, associated with the two iwi that are mentioned. Cook is in the middle, between a victim of his crew's violence and the threat of Māori warriors. Tupaia is at the heart of the scene, emerging at a crucial moment to demonstrate his pivotal role highlighted in the film. Here the scale is personal but broader spatial relationships are also carefully conveyed. Paul Tapsell reinforces the centrality of Raʻiātea, referring to it at one point as "the international terminal" for the islands. A whakataukī (proverb) is related in the voiceover: "I will never be lost, for I am a seed scattered from Rangiātea" (00:06:00). In a later discussion at the Pitt Rivers Museum, Tapsell considers the question of: "how and why … Māori [became] cut off from the rest of

the Pacific, and in fact even the Pacific [islands] seemed to get cut off from each other" (01:21:36).

Figure 5.4. The first text onscreen, *Tupaia's Endeavour*, Cut 3, (00:00:12)

In the opening sequence of *Tupaia's Endeavour*, spatial references are prominent and detailed. We are in Aotearoa New Zealand, we are at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, on the east coast of the North Island. These references are at a scale that allows the viewer to locate the events in the broad regional context which has been the focus of much important scholarship by authors such as David Armitage, Alison Bashford and Sujit Sivasundaram; Epeli Hau'ofa; and Margaret Jolly. At this scale the important distinctions made by such authors between the Western, scientific approach to space and a Pacific Island one are evident. We hear Anne Salmond explaining the expedition's first objective – to observe and record the Transit of Venus as a way of calculating the size of the solar system. The *Endeavour's* observations were part of an extensive, global, international scientific effort (00:30:40 – 00:31:11). The expedition's second main objective was detailed in the so-called

secret instructions from the Admiralty (see Chapter 2 above). As Kirk Torrance says in the voiceover: "Cook was following the Admiralty's secret instructions to find the Great Southern Continent. He was armed with Abel Tasman's coordinates for New Zealand, and he was heading South" (00:41:38). And a little later he tells us that: "A month into the journey, *Endeavour* was battling rough seas and bitter cold in the vast, empty reaches of the Pacific Ocean" (00:41:52). Also at this scale, we learn about the distinctions between Polynesian navigation and Cook's Western navigational practices, with a clear implication of the superiority of the former. Examples include "Tupaia had navigated many long voyages," from the voiceover (00:42:18 – 00:42:30); and, in the interview with Matahi Whakataka-Brightwell (Waka Voyager/Master Carver)[14] talking about how quickly it is possible to travel between the islands "canoe style" compared with the *Endeavour* (00:42:42 – 00:44:10). The Western navigators recognised the value of Tupaia's geographical knowledge. As Cook noted: "We have found him to be a very intelligent person, to know more of the geography of these islands, their produce, religion, laws and customs than any we have met" (00:30:27 – 00:30:40). Through these, we begin to understand that they emerge from different ways of experiencing and understanding place. There are two systems of navigation based on two ways of knowing.[15]

The two systems clash in Tupaia's chart, as we are told in the voiceover: "With Cook he drew a chart, showing the islands across the Pacific. An uncomfortable blend of Cook's four compass points and Tupaia's 3-D panorama. Cook noted, with admiration, that no

[14] Brightwell (Ngāti Tūwharetoa) was one of the pioneers of the revival of Polynesian navigational skills, having sailed the *Hawaiki-nui* in 1985. See New Zealand National Maritime Museum (nd) *Hawaiki-nui*. New Zealand National Maritime Museum. Available at: https://www.maritimemuseum.co.nz/collections/hawaiki-nui, [accessed 22 October 2020].

[15] See Di Piazza and Pearthree 2007; Eckstein and Schwartz 2019; Turnbull, D., (2001). Cook and Tupaia: A Tale of Cartographic Méconnaissance? In Lincoln, M. (ed), *Science and Exploration in the Pacific: European Voyages to the Southern Oceans in the Eighteenth Century*. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer: 117–32.

matter where they were on the journey, Tupaia was always able to point, with accuracy, towards home" (00:41:00 – 00:41:34). Through this "uncomfortable blend," we are invited to consider the differences between Western and Polynesian relationships to place, and particularly the sea. As Anne Salmond says: Tupaia was "somebody who was very courageous, you know, he took big risks. He'd been to Tonga, we know, he'd been to the Austral Islands. He'd sailed a lot; he'd been around. He could speak a number of Polynesian languages" (00:11:26 – 00:12:03). A recurring visual motif is Tupaia shown swimming, often juxtaposed with a shot of fish. The implication is clear – water is Tupaia's medium, he is at home in the ocean. Later Kirk Torrance continues in the voiceover: "As a master navigator, Tupaia was able to recall the ancient … path across the Pacific. He read the winds, the currents, the stars and the migration of the fish and the birds" (00:22:57 – 00:23:14). These perspectives reinforce throughout the film the idea that Polynesian navigational relationships to the sea are, as Tim Ingold has evoked, routes in the sea, routes of knowing and dwelling, rather than routes across the sea from one place to another (Ingold 2007: 75-77). These are very much aligned with distinctions drawn by scholars of the Pacific over decades, not least by Epeli Hau'ofa (1994).[16] The frequent and integrated presence of the Pacific Voyagers throughout the film reinforces the currency of these distinctive navigational skills and perspectives. And referring further back in time, Anne Salmond tells us that: "So when he sailed for example as a navigator, … he's following the voyages of his star ancestors in the sky. They're actually up there sailing as well, according to the old stories… So you're following them, and there's a star pillar that sits on top of this marae over there and you're following the canoe of your ancestor to that star pillar" (00:14:05 – 00:16:26).

[16] Hau'ofa, E., (1994). Our sea of islands. *The Contemporary Pacific*, pp.148-161. For a recent exploration of similar themes, see Lopesi, L., (2018). *False Divides.* Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.

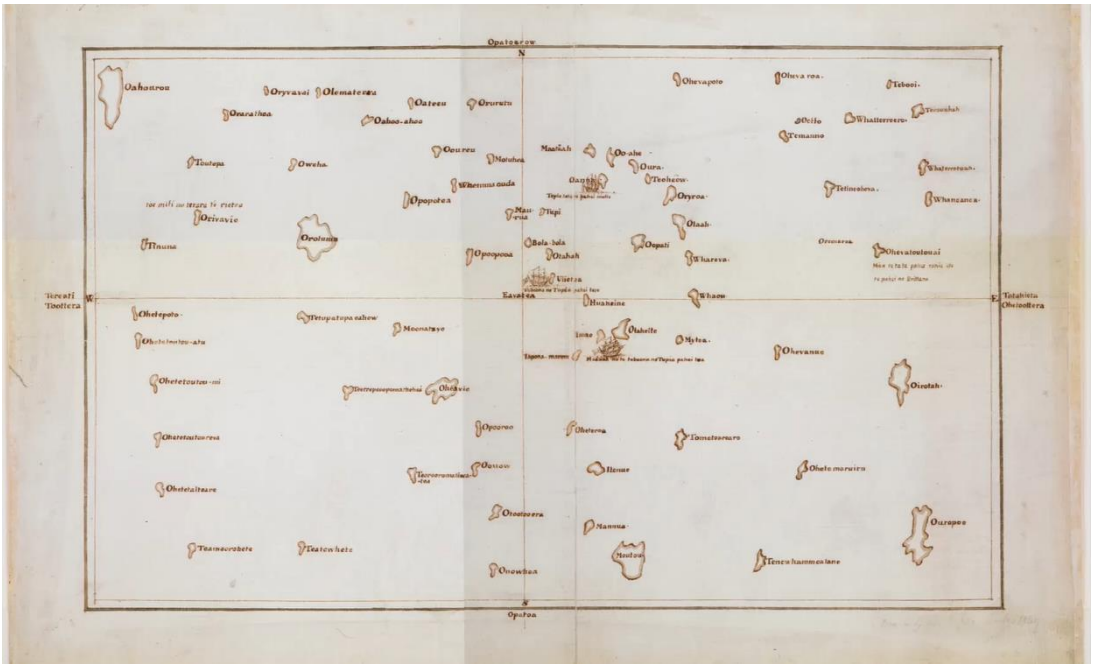

Figure 5.5. '*Tupaia's Chart*': Copy Chart of the Society Islands by James Cook from an original by Tupaia. British Library Add. MS 21593 C. *Tupaia's Endeavour*, Cut 3, (00:41:02).

These spatial distinctions in the historical narrative are maintained in references to contemporary places. Firstly, at the global scale Wayne Ngata talks about revisiting materials, such as botanical specimens and the knowledges they represent, in their current locations across the globe, to understand how a place was at the time of first contact and to use both specimens and knowledge to restore the land today (01:37:46 – 00:38:34). Again at this scale, Amiria Salmond at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge notes how: "the taonga themselves are still alive and so they're bringing people with them over that same route to Europe" (01:39:42 – 01:39:56). The group visiting the British Museum reflect on the history and human connections across the globe of a hei tiki (rare neck ornament) (01:44:33 – 01:44:55). And Anne Iranui Maguire concludes in a Pacific Island context that connecting "our people is probably the most important thing for me. The more we share, and the knowledge that we share with one another, will make us strong" (02:01:50 – 02:02:03).

I distinguish between the representation of space at the global and Oceanic scales, evident in these preceding examples, and the representation of personal space, such as in the opening sequence which highlights that Cook is "in the middle". In the same sequence, Tupaia emerges from the midst of the marines – he is embedded in the party, and this offers a possible reason for the confusion among Māori initially as to who he was and his relationship to the Endeavours. These spatial references at a very local, human scale reinforce how integral Tupaia was to the *Endeavour* voyage. There is great attention to spatial detail in the film's coverage of the first contact events at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa. We are told where people are; the proximity of people both to each other and to the events. In the voiceover: "According to the *Endeavour* accounts, Cook, Banks and others were exploring further up the river, leaving the ship's boys and the Coxswain to guard the yawl" (00:51:41 – 00:51:48s); [Tupaia] "didn't apparently come ashore anyway that day" (00:47:51 – 00:48:00s); and:

> Onshore the next morning Rongowhakaata watched from the other side of the river as Tupaia and the kidnapped boys approached. This time the Brits stood way back. One of them crossed the river, and, after an emotional reunion with the boys, he sat in deep conversation with Tupaia. Monkhouse reported [actor's voice] "Tupaia's name was now echoed incessantly. He talked with them and messages were despatched to hasten those that were coming up with the good news (01:11:32 – 01:11:58).

5.2.3. People in Place

The main voices in *Tupaia's Endeavour* are men's, as is the case in the *Endeavour* journals that first represented Tupaia to a European audience. The three Polynesian narrators are men, most of the film's interviewees are also men and the Pacific Voyagers project crew are almost exclusively men. Among Māori, a range of masculine identities are portrayed in the

film's historical characters, from the warriors in the haka re-enactment to the peaceful gardener Te Maro; and in contemporary representations, from the Pacific Voyagers' haka to the sensitive artist (Michael Tuffery) and thoughtful activist (Wayne Ngata). This is a conscious choice by Rolls. "There's a lot of [gentleness between men] in Pacific culture [but] we never witness it or enjoy it" [01:31:00]. [17] Among the "British" too, there are evident differences between for example, the stern Cook, the dilletante Banks, and the sensitive Quaker artist Parkinson. Women for the most part have strong roles such as the historical character, politician, and leader Purea, and contemporary interpreter or cultural authority, such as Anne McGuire, Anne Salmond, and taua (traditional healer) Taha Natua Manutahi. The notable exception is the tapa cloth dancer, whose performance is framed to enhance the sense of the Western, sexualised gaze of Joseph Banks (00:32:00 – 00:33:12).

Rolls' intent to share subtle and varying masculinities is part of her broader intent to personalise the historical characters, the actors who represent them, and the contemporary experts and commentators. The film conveys this broader intent through both technique and content. Rolls uses many close-up shots giving widespread opportunities to recognise individual actors. Some close-ups focus on bodily experiences such as walking on sand and swimming, inviting viewers to identify with the characters physically as well as intellectually (through interviews), and emotionally (through re-enactments and mourning). The use of accented actors to read the journals also conveys personality and emotion among the Endeavours, as, for example, in Banks' journal entry for the night that the three fishing boys spend on board (01:10:55 – 01:11:25).[18]

[17] The square brackets[] are used to distinguish references to interviews, mainly with Lala Rolls but also Kirk Torrance, from references to the film, which are within round brackets ().
[18] Joseph Banks 9 and 10 October 1769.

The sense of empathy is enhanced by the nature of the physical contacts between some of the participants. The two taua (traditional healers) featured in the film touch Torrance, Tapsell, and Tuffery. Tupaia holds back Joseph Banks as he reaches out to touch the donor of the tapa cloth. Tupaia puts a hand on Taiato's shoulder. Cook is shown sharing a hongi with a chief of the Rongowhakaata tribe in one of Tuffery's drawings. And there are the sequences of drawing on the tattoos, firstly on Torrance in Tahiti and later on the Tairāwhiti Māori in preparation for the re-enactment haka. This visual evidence of physical gentleness contrast with the interviews, which are more formally arranged with distance between the interviewers and the interviewees. Both the gentleness and the respectfulness encouraged a personal connection that accentuated through contrast the fatal violence enacted by musket and canon. *Tupaia's Endeavour* works at a thoroughly human level; throughout the film, we meet individuals not whole cultures. The opening sequence establishes a very human cost to the encounters that took place at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa in October 1769, with its focus on the death of Te Maro. As we approach these events again, once Tupaia's early biography in Tahiti has been shown to us, we have met people with direct links to Te Maro (Barney Tupara) and have met the person who represents him in the re-enactment (Nick Tupara). As the actor playing the marine raises his rifle and recreates the shot through Te Maro's heart, it feels personal. Emotions are also evoked through the contemporary mourning scenes, by the deaths of Taiato and Tupaia described by Parkinson, and Michael Tuffery's personal ceremony at Tupaia's cave, when he concludes that the drawings by Tupaia they sought in the cave are not to be found.

The connection with individuals is also deliberately woven into their relationships to place throughout the film. Connections between people and place are reinforced through acknowledging individuals' whakapapa (genealogy) and their links to rohe (territory). The

film enfolds both history and place through references to whakapapa and by references to the first arrivals of the first Polynesian settlers in the area. In the film's opening voiceover, the first detail given is the date. The second is the place – Tūranganui-a-Kiwa – named after a person, a tipuna (ancestor). The first person we are told about is Te Maro and his iwi Ngāti Oneone. The focus on personal names, iwi, place names, and titles or signifiers of status all establish from the outset that whakapapa is important. Furthermore, they bring some viewers into a range of relationships of inclusion and exclusion. On this human scale, Viriamu Tupaia makes a very personal connection to Tupaia (00:36:00 – 00:36:30) and refers to Tupaia wanting to go to Aotearoa to visit his relatives (00:38:33). A personal link is made between Paul Tapsell's and Viriamu's (and Tupaia's) tīpuna (00:38:52). Barney Tupara also refers to the family connections in the area to Te Maro, including himself. Michael Tuffery's connection not just to Ra'iātea, but to Taputapuatea marae itself, Tupaia's marae, is also very personal. Through whakapapa the three voyagers are bound to the people of the past, who are thus bound to the present.

Returning to the more formal interviews, we see Māori experts situated in their environments, typically outdoors – the places where they live and where their tīpuna first made contact with Europeans. The interviewees in the UK are seen in their environments, in their workplaces, institutions where the acquired objects are kept in storerooms, museum cases, galleries, and libraries. When Māori speak from their places, they embody the authority to speak of histories where they actually took place. For example, Barney Tupara is interviewed on a hill overlooking Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, gesturing down to the bay where his tipuna Te Maro "was murdered". There is a further effective framing in the staging of the scenes In London, Oxford, and Cambridge. With karakia and engagements with taonga led

by the Polynesian visitors, the staging gives the clear impression that 'they' (Pacific Islanders) are observing 'us' (the Brits), reinforcing the film's narrative perspective.

Place, then, is not merely a background against which events occur, it is woven into the lives and histories of people. Differences in relationships to place between Polynesians and Europeans are staged and performed as much as they are described. *Tupaia's Endeavour* describes a living sense of place in evocative ways. In the voiceover: Taputapuatea "is an entity that fills the whole space between the sea, the sky and the mountains" (00:06:00 – 00:06:11); and: Tupaia "had engineered a great marae, Maha'iatea, right here where we stand. Held together in a tangle of tree roots, [it] was once over thirteen metres high, with an eighty metre atea (marked area at the base for the ceremonies), … Even today you can feel its mauri, its life force" (00:26:55 – 00:27:52). Various filmic devices convey this vibrant sense of place in Oceania, marking its difference from the London sequences, where clichés of London buses and the city's famous landmarks contrast with the landscapes and seascapes of Oceania (01:17:34 – 01:18:12 and again from 01:42:14 – 01:42:30). The sea is shown in different close-up shots, with or from a boat, and approaching land. As noted above, Tupaia is shown swimming in the sea – conveying the sense that the sea is his home. These senses of place are related to whakapapa frequently throughout the film. For example, Nick Tupara notes that "Somebody was walking on his whenua (land), in the very precise place that the first footsteps of our people were placed here" (00:50:00s – 00:50:08).

The links to Tahiti are a feature of the sense of place that is also being evoked on an Oceanic scale, again through whakapapa. In the interview with Raiapoia Cowan Brightwell (Ra'iātea), when invited to comment on what Tupaia might have said to Te Rakau, suggested that Tupaia: "probably would have acknowledged the chief first and foremost and then he

would have introduced himself … his name and which island he came from, … the chief's family or ancestors would have come from the same island… (01:07:36 – 01:08:46). Paul Tapsell also talks about the similarity between the two cultures that would have been evident when Tupaia was recognised in Aotearoa New Zealand, referring to the familiar importance of tattooing, dogs, the head being tapu (sacred), and their shared language.

Against the background of connections woven between people, ancestry, and place, the most prominent individual in *Tupaia's Endeavour* is the eponymous hero, Tupaia himself. In the naming of the film, Cook is replaced by Tupaia – symbolising that a white hero is being replaced with a brown one. While the evidence of the *Endeavour* journals supports the film's overall interpretation that Tupaia enjoyed an important and positive reputation in Aotearoa New Zealand – he was "one of ours" (Nick Tupara 00:54:23), the complexity of Tupaia the man – his motivations, his humanity, his flaws – is not a principal focus. Actor Kirk Torrance referred in interview to Tupaia's "arrogance" and self-interested political ambition, characteristics which are not well developed in the film.[19] The "treachery," mentioned by Tahitian tattooist Etua Rai is a rare criticism. What was in his mind? How did he see his political contexts and what motivated his actions? These are underdeveloped themes, yet the film is still an important step in a broader process. Elena Traina argues that Tupaia is as yet only a potential "Polynesian Epic Hero, … suspended between the realms of history, mythology and literature" with *Tupaia's Endeavour* one creative work acting as "a bridge to a missing epic which … will follow Tupaia's rebirth and recognition as a Polynesian hero" (Traina forthcoming 2021). As a result of *Tupaia's Endeavour*, acting as a waka of oral Polynesian history, there is now perhaps also room in

[19] Interview 20, 17 November 2018.

the feature documentary domain for Kiwa, Kupe, Kuramārōtini, Māui, Toi, and the many others.

Even as he stands clearly in the foreground, Tupaia is also woven into the underlying threads of the film. He is a means to explore Polynesian perspectives on time and space in juxtaposition with the Endeavours' Enlightenment world view. Rather than opposing a narrative focused on Cook, *Tupaia's Endeavour* offers an alternative starting point for its own, Polynesian narrative. Tupaia is the character through which the audience encounters the deep connection between Māori, their ancestors and ancestral homelands, and contemporary Pacific people and places. The Endeavours, particularly Banks and Cook, are shown as characters in Tupaia's narrative, within the context of a broader Polynesian community. Tupaia's status as intermediary, and one who is of neither one culture nor simply of the other – shows the encounters as complex and layered. The precipitative and disastrous first encounter without Tupaia contrasts with the mediated second, during which, despite the opportunity to communicate, Tupaia is clearly aware of his difference from Māori, and the risks of the situation, which once again has disastrous consequences. The encounters at Ūawa were more peaceful, and this is attributed to the preparation and management of the encounter by Māori, and to their recognition after the encounters at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa of the importance of Tupaia's presence and status. Within this broader context, differences in approaches to navigation between on the one hand Tupaia and Polynesians, and on the other Cook and Europeans are highlighted. The idea of Tupaia as having superior geographical knowledge to Cook's as well as unique diplomatic advantages for the expedition exemplifies differences between Western and Māori perceptions and knowledges of space and relationships to place. While British imperialism and the

colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand is virtually never explicitly referenced, this exploration of spatial knowledge systems evokes it several times. [20]

So far in this chapter I have examined the narrative and meta-narrative of *Tupaia's Endeavour's* and analysed the challenges it poses through time, place, and people to orthodox narratives focused on Cook and his British Enlightenment context. This is what the film says, its performance. In the following section, I examine aspects of the way Lala Rolls created the film in the context of its cultural and economic milieu, and examine what it does within this context, its performativity.

5.3. The Maker, Milieu, and Making of *Tupaia's Endeavour*

Born in Fiji, Lala Rolls moved to Aotearoa New Zealand in 1981 and undertook a B.A. in Psychology (and Education) starting at the University of Otago and finishing at Victoria University, Wellington in 1989, when she discovered her passion for film making. Following a script-writing course at The Royal College of Art, University of London, she returned to New Zealand in 1992 to produce her first funded short film *Olives* (1994). Through *Olives* she met Jamie Selkirk (producer/editor of the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy) and applied for work as a trainee assistant editor on his next film, *Jack Brown Genius*. From there she began her varied career as an editor, director, and producer. In recent years, some of her documentaries have been finalists in the New Zealand Screen Industry Awards. A notable example is *Land of My Ancestors* (2007), commissioned by Te Aratuku Whakaata Irirangi Māori Television Service (MTS) and which screened at the London Independent Film Festival, the NZ International Film Festival, and the Fanau/Whenua Polynesian Arts Festival.

[20] It is worth noting that one Tahitian interviewee in the film Etua Rai (Tattoo Artist) does refer to the conquering of Tahiti as a result of Cook's visits, aided by Tupaia's 'treachery' (00:21:32).

It was selected by MTS as one of three films to be screened internationally through the World Indigenous Broadcasters Television Network.

Through Lala Rolls, *Tupaia's Endeavour* emerges so steeped in the cinematic and theoretical milieu described below that it carries them in its DNA. Rolls identifies many of the films mentioned as having had formative influences on her work, underlying her focus on Indigenous voices and on an Oceanic understanding of Indigeneity in Aotearoa New Zealand. In *Tupaia's Endeavour* and her 2006 *Children of the Migration*, the visibility and audibility of Indigenous voices stand out. The Oceanic perspective woven into *Tupaia's Endeavour* embraces the complexity of Oceanic and European heritages in Aotearoa New Zealand. Not only does it embrace, in its making, the increasing transnational, Oceanic heritages there and across the Pacific, but it brings their (re)discovery and celebration into plain sight through the film's three narrators.

Rolls' motivations in making this film can be traced to several personal influences too. Her upbringing in Fiji gave her a distinct perspective on the poor visibility and audibility of Indigenous people in official, published histories. While Indigenous life in Fiji was and remains visible at every level, from the streets to the staterooms, it was the European voice that dominated the history books. Addressing the underrepresentation of Indigenous people's perspectives, not just their bodies or stories, is also a key motivating factor. It underlies what Rolls calls the kaupapa (purpose) of the film, which is that: "The Pacific was always here and that there is and always was a rich and deep life that goes on, and a warmth, and lessons that can be learned by the onlooking world. *Tupaia* gives me an opportunity to say that" [00:19:00]. How the film tells that story was explored above. How the film was created is another layer entirely and understanding the film's process and

milieu provides vital context for the analysis of the contemporary cross-cultural encounters in section 5.4.

The film project's roots can be traced back to 2006, when Rolls read Salmond's *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog* and shared her enthusiasm for Tupaia's story with artist Michael Tuffery.[21] Immediately, Rolls "just needed to tell the story" [00:19:00]. Rolls had already worked with the Polynesian diaspora in Aotearoa New Zealand, and Tuffery had already been creating work on Māori-European first contacts.[22] From this initial meeting, it took until 2010 to secure from MTS the first funding for the project, and filming started in London in July 2011. *Tupaia's Endeavour* was shot in Tahiti, Aotearoa New Zealand, and the United Kingdom over nine years, with funding and material support from many different sources. The project evolved in the context of formative influences of longer-term processes, such as Rolls' professional and personal life, and the cultural world she discovered when she moved to Aotearoa New Zealand in 1981. This cultural world had its history and milieu of documentary film making generally and Māori film making in particular, both of which provided deeply influential contexts for *Tupaia's Endeavour*.

The history of documentary film making in Aotearoa New Zealand, including Māori film making, demonstrates the complex inter-relationship between the film as a text, a form of archive for Taylor, and the film as process, as performance, part of Taylor's repertoire. This interrelationship is reflected in Peter Limbrick's description of film making generally as "an encounter, a set of practices, and eventually a text" (2010: 146). As 'repertoire,' for celebrated Māori filmmaker Barry Barclay, documentary film was a comprehensive process

[21] Nine to Noon (2017). The Little-Known Story of Tahitian Navigator, Tupaia. [radio broadcast] *Radio New Zealand*. Available at: https://www.rnz.co.nz/national/programmes/ninetonoon/audio/201852726/the-little-known-story-of-tahitian-navigator-tupaia, [accessed 10 November 2020].
[22] For one example, see Tuffery, M. (2017-2019) Cookie Kereru. [online] *Michael Tuffery*. Available at: https://micheltuffery.co.nz/product/cookie-kereru/, [accessed 23 November 2020].

of “total film making” (Murray 2008: 6; 69). As ‘archive,’ documentaries are films about real life – not real life itself. “They are not even windows onto real life. They are portraits of real life, using real life as their raw material, constructed by artists and technicians who make myriad decisions about what story to tell, to whom, and for what purpose” (Aufderheide 2007: 2). The term itself emerged during the earliest days of film, alongside other terms such as ‘educationals’ and ‘actualities’ (*ibid.*: 3). But the term documentary did not stick until John Grierson, of whom more below, famously used it in describing his work for British public services. He defined documentary as the “artistic representation of actuality”. The more widespread such films became, the more the terminology became important. Labels convey expectations and since their early days, this has evolved to form the basis of an unwritten contract between the documentary film maker and the audience. One of the key aspects of this contract is a film’s relationship to truth and objectivity. If a film is labelled as a documentary, then the audience tends to value it for its implied truthfulness, accuracy, and trustworthiness. But, as Patricia Aufderheide points out, “since there is nothing natural about the representation of reality in documentary, … all documentary conventions arise from the need to convince viewers of the authenticity of what they are being told” (2007: 11). Such conventions are often culturally specific. We are thus convinced to trust documentary films to inform us, and many of us base beliefs and make decisions to act on what we learn from them. Indeed, that is one of the functions that some documentary film makers hold as paramount: think of Davis Guggenheim’s *An Inconvenient Truth* featuring Al Gore – a film whose stated purpose is to change our behaviour in relation to climate change. There are many documentaries that have been made by individuals on the margins of mainstream media, with views and motives that challenge the status quo, often with an explicit aim of speaking out against and to power, informing and persuading people to act.

As viewers, we have high expectations about what these films say about reality, and how they say it.

Some of these expectations were established early in the history of film making, with three approaches to documentary film: ennobling entertainment, associated with Robert Flaherty; socially useful storytelling, associated with John Grierson, and provocative experiment, associated with Dziga Vertov (Aufderheide 2007: 44). Two post-war developments had particularly relevant impacts on documentary film making – the advent of television from the 1950s, and the approach known variously as cinema verité, observational cinema, and direct cinema from the 1960s. I will say more about television below. Several influences of the characteristics of cinema verité can be felt in the making of *Tupaia's Endeavour*. While planning is still important, the kind of versatility associated with the style emerging in the 1960s broke with the degree of formality necessary in working with bulky 35mm equipment that included detailed advance planning, scripting, staging, and lighting for example. Greater improvisation was now possible. Moreover, documentary film often went into new, personal, and intimate spaces to film, recording far greater quantities of footage, including ordinary scenes and conversations, and finding the story in the editing suite.

Besides such genre-specific differences in editorial motivations and technical developments, other contexts and conditions also have a profound impact on how a film is made and what it becomes. The political and economic environments in which films are made and distributed influence how they are produced and viewed. In crafting a film, technical characteristics of the equipment impose or constrain methods. The form of the film and its techniques respond to factors such as socio-political agendas that accompany public sector support for public service documentary-making, financial pressures to be

commercial, as well as the associated expectations of audiences already noted. Indigenous film making has its own specific additional contexts.

In their introduction to *Cinema at the Periphery*, Dina Iordanova, *et al.* associate the emergence of Indigenous film making with a movement for "peripherally positioned film traditions that were not necessarily correlated to a tacit Western norm, but asked to be assessed on their own terms" (2010: 3). Following Ella Shohat and Robert Stam (2014), they called for "the entrenched binarism" of marginalized communities versus a white norm to be "challenged and redrawn in favour of scholarship that unveils and acknowledges a vibrant multitude of creative voices and forms of expression" (2010: 3). In recent decades, Indigenous people have gained greater control over film and video (Ginsburg 2011: 234). The contexts of these developments across the globe have profound consequences for Indigenous peoples. They, "an estimated 5% of the world's population, are struggling to sustain their own identities and claims to culture and land, surviving as internal colonies within encompassing nation states" (*ibid*. endnote 1). One of several difficulties with Indigenous engagement with the medium is the distinction between the free and open access of digital media and the mediated and restricted circulation of Indigenous knowledge. In *Tupaia's Endeavour*, for example in an interview in Tahiti tattoo artist Etua Rai tells us that "normallement c'est interdit" (normally it's forbidden) [to talk about these things] (00:22:25). These kinds of difficulties might be referred to as "image ethics" (Gross *et al.* 2003; Leuthold 1998). The rights of representation, and the difficulties associated with them, run deeply through Indigenous engagement with film and video, although they are not in themselves new. A significant benefit is the "extension of cultural and political activism to establish the presence of indigenous lives within their own communities, in nation states, and on the world stage" (Ginsburg 2011: 236). In doing so, Indigenous media

creates what has been called “the parallax effect,” producing not just a changed, non-ethnographic, non-Western perspective, but an additional, juxtaposed one, that creates “a fuller comprehension […] of the social phenomenon we call culture” (Ginsburg 1994b: 158). In practical terms, this additional representation can build forms of cultural labour “that repair fraying intergenerational relationships” and can bring productive activity and income (Ginsburg 2011: 239). Moreover, such cultural work can be converted into political assets both internally for indigenous peoples and groups, but also by the nation states themselves (Turner, 1993; 1994).

The kinds of distinction between peoples that have historically provided the basis for disciplines such as anthropology – studying a distinct and unknown other – are seriously challenged by these developments. They force a recognition that Indigenous peoples are “deeply engaged in establishing their own multiple representational strategies and objectifications on their own terms, through forms marked as resolutely modern, yet which are indigenised in multiple ways” (Ginsburg 2011: 243). Respected Māori filmmaker Merata Mita put it like this:

> Swimming against the tide becomes an exhilarating experience. It makes you strong. For 90 minutes or so, we have the capability of indigenising the screen in any part of the world our films are shown. This represents power and is one reason that we make films that are uniquely and distinctly Māori (1995, quoted in Dowell 2006a: 377).

The processes of film making are fundamental to this indigenisation of film and video. Influential Māori film maker and intellectual Barry Barclay frequently argued that indigenous film making should be considered as a hui (gathering or meeting). As Stuart Murray explains in *Images of Dignity*:

> Barclay saw all of his features [films] as comprising multiple elements – from the pre-production consultation with communities to be filmed, to the actual detail of

> the shooting, and on to the questions of distribution, reception and film use." […] Barclay's emphasis on korero, or protocols, and on ensuring that the end product was appropriately returned to those who had given it, has established a notion of total filmmaking, an inclusive process of discussion and advice (2008: 6, 69).

Both Barclay's total filmmaking and Mita's Indigenisation of the screen explain why a textual analysis of what we see on the screen is not enough – we must take into account its performative aspects that reflect "how contemporary states and their indigenous citizens negotiate diversity" (Ginsburg 2011: 250). In this discussion, the work of Barclay and Mita has been situated within the broad field of Indigenous documentary film making, but the more specific context of Aotearoa New Zealand is also important.

As noted in Chapter 3, documentary film making in Aotearoa New Zealand started early and was first characterized by what were called 'scenics' focused on the country's two perceived strengths: its landscape and the Māori people. In this context, the documentary was often accompanied by a lecture by the film maker, framing the film in ethnographic terms (Goldson and Smith 2008). The interwar period was characterised by scenic films used by the government of Aotearoa New Zealand to both project an image of the country to an international market, and to engage domestic audiences in a particular vision of national pride. This vision, an "imagined community" in Benedict Anderson's terms, was almost exclusively white, masculine, and uncontested (Anderson 2016). The visit to Aotearoa New Zealand by the British documentary film maker John Grierson in 1940 mentioned earlier was influential (Goldson and Smith 2008). Grierson's view was that the "role of mass media […] was to foster national unity … intellectuals cooperating with politicians, communicating national objectives to people, and regulating and administering social life for the national good". This has been described as an attempt to "diminish the democratic potential unleashed by the war" (Aitken 1998: 35).

Despite the use of documentaries to such cultural nationalist ends, there were alternative visions almost from the earliest days of documentary film making in Aotearoa New Zealand, mainly stemming from left-wing and union traditions. This alternative tradition is exemplified by the explicitly anti-colonial film *Mail Run* (1947). These alternative visions asserted a working class and, to some extent at least, a feminist perspective often at odds with the national "imagined community". However, it was not until the 1970s that the group more often absented from the imagined community, the Māori population, started to assert their presence and narratives. A key factor, and one that resonates with the experience of *Tupaia's Endeavour*, is that this breakthrough came via the medium of television. A valuable example is the *Survey* series that included Māori film maker Barry Barclay's 1972 *The Town That Lost a Miracle*.[23] The rise of Māoritanga (Māori culture) was a feature of the period and a significant context for Barclay's influential work. He also directed the *Tangata Whenua* series produced by John O'Shea's Pacific Films, and written by historian Michael King, which was broadcast nationally in 1974. Television became the key medium for Māori documentary film making in this period.

Merata Mita's films *Bastion Point – Day 507* (1978) and *Patu!* (1983) covered events of great significance for Māori and invited serious reflection by its audiences. The first documented a pivotal land occupation by Māori protestors, one that was eventually followed by some political change in relation to land. The second followed the controversial South African Springbok rugby tour of Aotearoa New Zealand and the social, mainly racial,

[23] The Survey Series ran from 1970-72. "In the one channel days of the early 1970s, the *Survey* slot was the place to find local documentaries. Topics ranged across the board, from social issues (alcoholism, runaway children) to the potentially humdrum (an AGM meeting) to the surprisingly experimental (music film *The Unbelievable Glory of the Human Voice*)." New Zealand On Screen Iwi Whitiāhua (nd) Survey, Television 1970-72. [online] *New Zealand On Screen Iwi Whitiāhua*. Available at: https://www.nzonscreen.com/title/survey-1970/series, [accessed 8 September 2020].

tensions that were associated with it. The film argued that the conflict in Aotearoa New Zealand and a focus on racism in South Africa "forced many New Zealanders to reflect on their own record of race relations," (Goldson and Smith 2008: 160). Barry Barclay's *Ngati* is another landmark film and one that had a very specific impact on Rolls' film making. Watching it, she had the epiphany "Oh my God! It is a Pacific island! New Zealand is a Pacific island and it doesn't know it!" [00:28:20]. That this point still needs to be made in Aotearoa New Zealand today is demonstrated by Waka Voyager Tawhana James Chadwick's comments in *Tupaia's Endeavour*:

> When you grow up as Māori in Aotearoa, you don't really feel connected to the Pacific. You grow up not thinking that you're a Pacific Islander. You call everyone else who's from the Pacific a Pacific Islander, but yourself? You don't really connect with that. But over the last couple of years, just going to all these islands and realising that we are connected with all these guys here – there are fifteen nations on the waka – you realise that you totally are Pacific Islanders (00:08:14).

The above developments in the history of documentary film making themselves need to be situated within a broader international feature film context, particularly since Aotearoa New Zealand's success over recent decades has been important to the business environment for documentary film making too. Contemporary film making in Aotearoa New Zealand saw a swift rise to international recognition in the early 1990s, although its roots can be traced back to the mid-1970s (Conrich and Murray, 2008). Perhaps the best-known films of the later period include *The Piano* (1993), *The Lord of the Rings Trilogy* (2001-2003), *Whale Rider* (2002), and *The World's Fastest Indian* (2005). The earlier signs of revival in the industry in Aotearoa New Zealand in the 1970s led to overseas recognition for films in the 1980s, including *Goodbye Pork Pie* (1980), *Smash Palace* (1981), and *Utu* (1983). Conrich and Murray link the 1970s revival to the creation of an Interim Film Commission in 1977, which became the New Zealand Film Commission (NZFC) in 1978. The economic and critical

success of these films, and the challenges that Māori documentary films offered to established production are both important. As performative events, these films widened the range of possibilities and have created a context that means not only that *Tupaia's Endeavour* can be made, but that it is able to act as a gentle film, one that can assert a quiet authority. *Tupaia's Endeavour* probably could not have been made without its television and film precedents.[24]

Television has been and continues to be a valuable and influential medium for contemporary documentaries; but it is not uncomplicated. As Annie Goldson and Jo Smith note, "the politicized film maker … must negotiate the fine (and fraught) line between education and entertainment" (2008: 164). This is not a new dilemma, as Jeffrey Ruoff has argued in relation to the travelogue film genre. He too cites the deeper cultural roots of this tension between cultural production for education and pleasure which stretched back into the nineteenth century (Ruoff 2006: 2). One strategy adopted by film makers is to frame their projects to appeal to government funding agencies, effectively "performing a strategic form of nationalism that might appeal to the majority while also contributing a politicised point of view" (Goldson and Smith 2008: 164). "The task of New Zealand's alternative documentary tradition," Goldson and Smith state, "has always been to offer a critique from within this nation-state that ensures that New Zealand's national imaginary remains contested, debated, challenged and unsettled" (*ibid.*: 165).

It is surely no coincidence, then, that *Tupaia's Endeavour* received its first significant funding support from television rather than the film industry. Gaining support of Te Aratuku Whakaata Irirangi Māori Television Service (MTS) in 2010 was a pivotal moment in the

[24] Lala Rolls, interview 15 November 2018.

development of the project, giving the film its first significant funding, and its focus on a Māori audience. The source of the funding is thus important, although in her interview with New Zealand Radio referred to above, Rolls mentions that she resisted initial constraints this commission might have imposed on the production. Thus, MTS generously only retained the rights to screen the three-part television documentary in Aotearoa New Zealand. It is nonetheless the first example of many similar constraints that affected the film's production. Tahitian funding was conditional on some production being based in Tahiti. The cut subtitled in French was shown there in 2016 at the Festival International de Film Documentaire Océanien (FIFO), where it won an International Jury prize. That cut was then made available to all the schools in Tahiti free of charge. The New Zealand Film Commission turned down an application for funding because of this prior exposure in Tahiti. Later, the Te Hā Trust and Tuia – Encounters 250 each gave funding conditional on a series of free screenings. From the start Rolls recognised that the project was always bigger than the funding they were likely to get from any individual source. She made a choice to aim high with a patchwork of funding rather than cut her ambitions for telling Tupaia's story. The final output might well have been a six-part high-end television series rather than a feature film, had money been no object.[25]

As well as this structural funding background, the constraints on the total amount of funding for the feature-length version also had specific implications for the ways it was produced and edited. The project was not always able to employ a producer, which meant that Rolls had many production tasks as well as directing and editing, which at times even included feeding the crew. The pressure on costs affected decisions about the scale of

[25] Lala Rolls, interview 15 November 2018.

filming and the visual techniques. The number of locations where filming could be undertaken was limited, excluding European locations of taonga from the *Endeavour* voyage such as Tübingen in Germany, other sites visited by the *Endeavour* in Aotearoa New Zealand, the east coast of Australia, and Jakarta, Indonesia. The importance of Michael Tuffery's drawings grew to compensate for some of these limitations to geographical coverage (figure 5.6). Tuffery's drawings also supported the focus on individuals at the personal scale analysed in the previous section, enhancing Tupaia's presence on screen beyond the re-enactment scenes by showing his relationships with others including his acolyte Taiato, *Endeavour* artist Parkinson, and the three kidnapped fishermen (figure 5.7). His drawings also complemented the long-shot footage of the *Endeavour* replica (figure 5.8). All these decisions were made by Rolls during the filming process, often provoked by immediate funding issues. However, finance was not the only influence on these decisions. Rolls' longstanding desire to show gentleness between men, examined above, and which is also evident in her 2006 *Children of the Migration,* was a significant reason for personalising and individualising the shooting of the re-enactment scenes.[26] This is a reminder that, despite the undoubted impact of finance on production, this is very much Lala Rolls' film, and decisions were driven by her creative vision, not merely responses to funding constraints.

[26] *Children of the Migration*. Producers Chris Ellis, Michelle Turner; Director Lala Rolls. Wellington: Island Productions Aotearoa, 2006.

Figure 5.6. Batavia by Michael Tuffery. *Tupaia's Endeavour*, Cut 3, (01:56:54).

Figure 5.7. Tupaia and fishermen aboard *Endeavour* by Michael Tuffery, *Tupaia's Endeavour*, Cut 3, (01:10:49).

Figure 5.8. Long-shots of *Endeavour* by Michael Tuffery, *Tupaia's Endeavour,* Cut 3, (01:10:35).

One creative decision taken by Rolls that had a huge impact on the film was to bring the film's making into the film itself. "I like the breaking of the fourth wall … with Tuffs (Michael Tuffery) being there sketching" [01:18:04 – 01:18:34]. In this and other ways, we are shown some of the technology involved in creating the narrative, as well as some of the processes involved in creating the meta-narrative of making Polynesian history. The construction of the film is visible in how it shows its technology (cameras and sound recording equipment visible in shots at the British Museum and Tahiti), and in the visibility of the production team (at Te Ana o Tupaea, Tupaia's Cave). One of the most influential elements of the film's construction that is shown is the production of the re-enactment sequences. In Gisborne, for example, we hear from Nick Tupara about the conversations that took place with the men who performed the haka (00:53:34 – 00:54:00); we see their preparations (00:48:48 – 00:49:18); and we witness the preparatory discussions among the

small group that improvised the pivotal scene of the death of Te Maro (00:49:22-00:49:50). There are other examples. At many points in the film, artist Michael Tuffery's drawings are filmed to show essential elements of the story and to include him talking about the significance for him of some of the events he is illustrating. For example, he feels strongly about the encounter on Te Toka-a-Taiau between a Māori chief and Cook, when the first hongi took place between British and Māori. It was no surprise to Rolls that, having met the Pacific Voyagers on a pre-shoot planning trip to Tahiti, and talked to them about the film, when they met them again during shooting, Rolls discovered that they had been stimulated into doing their own research into Tupaia and remarked that "this isn't really a film, it's a cultural outreach experience" [00:22:00].

Through showing such aspects of its own making, the film highlights that this is Polynesian knowledge and history, being made by Polynesians for Polynesians. Referring to Joseph Banks taking part in the tapa ceremony at Tahiti in 1769 Rolls made the point that "a way of understanding the story is to be part of the story" [01:26:35]. Thus, the narrators become part of the story, and the viewer is invited to witness them making history, an experience that is powerfully performative. The question of "Who tells the stories?" is a fundamental one for Rolls: "in a documentary, I want to be a conduit to bring Indigenous voices to the screen, not my voice" [00:36:49 – 00:38:09]. Through this focus on Indigenous voices, *Tupaia's Endeavour* celebrates the primacy of oral testimony, embraces the multi-layered forms of history, and allows space for unresolved questions. Alongside the predominantly Indigenous voices, the British written records are spoken by actors, placing all the testimony in the same medium. As the testimonies are woven together, we become aware of gaps, overlaps, and contradictions. Where was Tupaia when Cook arrived in Matavai Bay? Was he there, or was he at Papara? How many Māori were on the beach on

the first day of the encounter at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa – three or four? According to some sources, 'arioi were not allowed to have children – if they did, either the children were killed at birth, or the parent lost their 'arioi status. Yet in Aotearoa New Zealand, we hear of "little Tupaias".[27] These and other questions coexist and remain unresolved; the voices speak their own histories. Thus, the orthodox Western narrative is being challenged through who is speaking, where they are, as well as what is being said. The Māori 'we' of *Tupaia's Endeavour* are telling 'our story,' recruiting the Western sources for 'our' purposes, to the extent that they validate 'our' oral histories.

5.4. Contemporary Encounters

The inclusion of the film's making, breaking the fourth wall, nonetheless leaves much unrepresented. Some processes could not be filmed, not least because they were necessary pre-cursors to the filming. From her upbringing in Fiji, her life in Aotearoa New Zealand, and with leading Polynesian narrators in Aotearoa, Rolls knows that cultural protocols are important and take time. Also, because (as she put it) "I couldn't control the film because I was trying to draw it out from the communities," she had to "allow time [for people] to be ready, and to say what they wanted to say; [even so] we floundered at times" [00:40:27 – 00:41:45]. While time constraints and communication can explain these difficulties to some extent, cross-cultural encounters are complex and unpredictable processes. Hosts, participants, and members of the production team reacted differently to the encounters, to the time constraints on engaging deeply in them, and to the ways they shaped the film. So, while the film shows some elements of its making, there are yet other layers that have

[27] Victor Walker, *Tupaia's Endeavour,* Cut 3, (01:47:28).

remained hidden. The visible layers include the meta-narrative of the three Polynesian history makers and the film making technology. The invisible layers of particular interest here are principally the cross-cultural encounters between the team and their hosts and interviewees in the various locations. For example, while filming in Tahiti, there were issues around the way hospitality was understood and how it unfolded, issues around differences between different islands, such as Raʻiātea and Tahiti, and issues about the roles of non-Indigenous Tahitians, such as those associated with the colonial power in Tahiti, the French. Despite the roles of intermediaries such as co-producer Olivier Roth and schoolteacher and taua Taha Natua Manutahi in Tahiti, the linguistic and cultural differences among the crew and residents sometimes led to unpredictable and uneasy encounters, which undoubtedly affected the way the film was shot, how it has been edited, and how it has been screened. The arrangement of access to the marae, the preparations and ceremonial moments, and the French cultural norms that overlie Tahitian culture all impacted on filming objectives and especially time. The uncertainty around these cross-cultural contacts was palpable and uncomfortable at times, and decisions and plans were often improvised in consequence.[28]

There is also a layer of cross-cultural encounter between the humanities and the arts in the making of the film, echoing the encounter between artists and the National Maritime Museum. The tensions between historical evidence and artistic interpretation that can be discerned between the two are frequently mediated through the voice-over by Torrance. Yet, in contrast to the interviewee testimonies and the performed quotations from contemporary *Endeavour* journals, this voice is heard but not 'seen'. Whose voice is it? While other aspects of the film's making are evident throughout the film, the voice-over

[28] Interviews 16, 19, and 20, 11 to 17 November 2018.

element remains in the background. It weaves the Endeavours' journal entries read by actors together with the interviews, art, and re-enactments, and underwrites Tupaia's narrative. It also brings its own interpretation of history, written by Rolls and based on her own research, supported by other researchers commissioned periodically. Such tensions between academic authority, Indigenous testimony, and film-maker's interpretation are not independent of the broader tensions of colonial-Indigenous cross-cultural encounters and play out differently in different places.

The place of encounter affected the making of the film in diverse ways. One example offered by Rolls was that because the crew were New Zealanders and so 'outsiders' in Tahiti there was no expectation that the film should show a balanced or inclusive view of all the different stories and shades of opinion in the Islands. This was very different from the filming at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa and Ūawa, as noted above.[29] Another example is that places change over time, sometimes dramatically, and this had implications for Rolls in filming past events. The environment in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, as in Tahiti, is very different now from the way it was in Cook's time. This is especially true of the foreshore and river where the first encounters took place. The film describes these changes in one of its bittersweet moments, focused on the sacredness of the rock Te Toka-a-Taiau, where Cook exchanged the first Māori-European hongi in Aotearoa New Zealand with an unknown man. Its importance is highlighted, and then we are told that the rock was blown up in 1877 for harbour improvements. Whereas in 1905, the re-enactment discussed in Chapter 3 was staged at or near the exact spot where Cook had originally arrived, underlining the authenticity of that film for the director Joseph Perry, the extensive development of the port of Gisborne meant

[29] Lala Rolls Interview, 15 November 2018.

that filming in the same location would not convey a sense of the environment in which the encounter took place. Instead, the sense of place is conveyed in the film through the re-enactment being staged at a small beach with a stream a few kilometres up the coast from Gisborne, despite the stream being so shallow that no swimming was possible, and there being no rock in the middle of it. The sense of place was enhanced more by the absence of twentieth-century infrastructure than by the shallowness of the water or the absence of Te Toka-a-Taiau.

By highlighting the relationship of Aotearoa New Zealand with the Pacific Islands, *Tupaia's Endeavour* also reinforces a growing sense, at least among the waka voyaging community, of the country's place in Oceania. The publicity material for the film tells us that the story is told from a Polynesian perspective. Rolls sees this as an important aspect of the film: "It's not only about Māori of Aotearoa but about the Pacific, and Tahitians. There's strength in that; there's healing in knowing where you come from" [00:36:49 – 00:38:09]. What this means in practice for individuals can be complex, as is evident in Rolls' reflections on her relationship to the Pacific. "My identity is slippery. I am a Pacific person so deeply and thoroughly at heart because of how I grew up and where I grew up, and my eyes see largely through Pacific lenses. … I am not an indigenous film maker, but I am a film maker that makes Indigenous films"[00:28:14], a conclusion supported by the invitations that Rolls has had from Indigenous film makers to Indigenous film festivals. This broader and more complex sense of a Pacific identity is shared by Tuffery, whose own heritage is Māori, Samoan, and Tahitian (specifically from Ra'iātea). He talks about this in a later cut of the film, and it highlights the deep sense of connection that he embodies in the scenes at Taputapuatea marae.

The impacts of *Tupaia's Endeavour* as a cross-cultural "outreach experience" are as evident in its screenings as well as in its making. Such impacts are multiplied by the number of forms in which the film has been screened and enriched by this multiplicity too, as the film spoke to different places in different voices. Around half a dozen different film forms have emerged from the *Tupaia's Endeavour* project. The first was the very early 52-minute cut that premiered at Tahiti's International Film Festival in 2016, subtitled in French. The principal output funded by MTS was the three-part series shown on Māori TV, beginning on Sunday 30 July 2017. There were several screenings of different cuts of the feature version in both Gisborne and Ūawa. "The point is I want it to be freely available to work its magic on people and give Pākehā an appreciation of Māori identity, and Māori a stronger sense of their own power" [01:58:00]. Rolls has a profound confidence in the way films can send ripples out into the world and impact on people's lives. "It works by magic, they do their own work, they get out into the world and they work" [00:19:00 – 00:22:00]. Following the release of *Children of the Migration*, according to Rolls, "people found me and wrote to me thanking me and explaining the impact on them" [00:19:00 – 00:22:00]. The impacts of the screenings on populations of schoolchildren in Tahiti and Aotearoa New Zealand will likely be felt for generations to come, if the experience of the audience at Ūawa are any indication: "I think the film highlighted why Tuia 250 is such an important thing for us to be involved in, especially the younger generation;" and "It was really educational for me and my son who watched it with me."[30]

[30] Tupaia Film (2020). At our Ūawa Tolaga Bay, viewers described *Tupaia's Endeavour* as educational and highly informative. Here's what Virginia thought. [online facebook video] *Tupaia Film.* Available at: https://www.facebook.com/1876530116003568/videos/353346225648637, [accessed 23 November 2020]; . Tupaia Film (2020). Viewers at the screening for participants at Ūawa Tolaga Bay loved *Tupaia's Endeavour*. Pauline had these thoughts. [online facebook video] *Tupaia Film.* Available at: https://www.facebook.com/1876530116003568/videos/2323785454581916, [accessed 23 November 2020].

The screenings themselves evidently brought knowledge to viewers, but the people traveling with *Tupaia's Endeavour* to the screenings did too: Lala Rolls, Michael Tuffery, Anne Salmond, and Wayne Ngata all attended different screenings. Trinh T. Minh-ha highlights the importance of such contact with audiences, going as far as to say that first-hand encounters with the public are constitutive of independent film (1997). This kind of director/star tour "turns the movie into a performative event" (Altman 1990: 2-4), which, according to one film historian "should force us to rethink our infatuation with films as texts" (Ruoff 2006: 4).

While Pākehā were among the audiences for the screenings in Oceania, they were often shown to majority Māori audiences. In the UK however, most of the audiences in the UK were white European. Elements of the film were first shown in the UK in 2018 in the extracts that were included in short films shown in audio-visual installations in the British Library's exhibition, *James Cook: The Voyages* covered in Chapter 4. Audiences there appreciated the films: "They are neither too short, nor too long....They are to the point... the tone is very good…The interviewees are interesting ...the videos are generally extremely good;" "They were just long enough that you could stand and learn a little bit about the particular part of the exhibition you were in;" "The same people – that was the interesting thing too…the same people were putting their take on the different parts of the story;" "I didn't really expect the contemporary commentary, but I appreciated it. I thought it was interesting" (Young and Cronin 2018). A fine cut screening on 17 July 2018 of the complete *Tupaia's Endeavour* was also included in the British Library's public programme for the exhibition.[31] It was shown in the main auditorium and ticket sales indicate an audience of

[31] The Origins Festival screened a preview cut at the National Maritime Museum the next year, 19 June, 2019. Further information about the Origins Festival of First Nations is available here: https://originsfestival.bordercrossings.org.uk/, [accessed 23 November 2020].

around 130 people. These appeared to be the Library's core audience of older people including historical specialists, many of them specifically interested in Cook. There were some younger people, including two PhD students and a member of staff from the National Maritime Museum. There were also about half a dozen members of Ngāti Rānana, the London Māori Club mentioned in Chapter 4. As part of the introduction to the screening, I was able to invite comments from the audience. Those that I heard on the day suggested that people found it powerful, that they had learned new things in the film, and found it entertaining too.

5.5. Conclusions

Tupaia's Endeavour emerges from a distinctly Polynesian context of documentary and Māori film making to challenge previous narratives about Cook's *Endeavour* voyage in four main ways. Firstly, the film's narrative is essentially about an intelligent Polynesian who navigates the politics of the Society Islands for his own ends, using the *Endeavour* to reconnect Māori with their ancestral homeland; it is not about Cook. Secondly, the film establishes personal relationships on the screen and through the fourth wall to the audience. Thirdly, and related to this personal approach, *Tupaia's Endeavour* embraces process of its own making which we see in the meta-narrative of the three history makers – Paul Tapsell, Kirk Torrance, and Michael Tuffery – in the Polynesian making of Polynesian history. Finally, the film generates multi-vocal histories and shares the improvisations which characterised much of its production. In so doing it eschews a role as a definitive statement about its subject.

Throughout the film, the personalisation and localisation of history making, especially personalisation of violence as experienced by Māori, reinforces how bodies are "the space

on which the battles for truth, value and power are fought" (Taylor 2003: 63). We feel we know Te Maro, because we have met Barney and Nick Tupara and witnessed them talking about their relationship with their ancestors. When Te Maro is shot, it is personal. The mass haka involves many close shots, allowing us to recognise the men we saw preparing for it. We can identify with living individuals, and so we are invited to feel the violence and loss in a very direct and personal way. When we witness the anger, sadness, and mourning that exists today, we are better able to understand it. Moreover, through the personalities of the three history makers, and the gentle humour of the film's voiceover, we are less likely to feel despondency or guilt by the end. We are more likely to find that we can bear witness to and understand something more about someone else's experience of historical events and their consequences. The strengths of this approach emerge from production and directorial decisions, some purely creative, some accidental, while others were deliberate, improvised creative responses to contexts including funding, time, culture, and language.

The meta-narrative of three modern voyagers undertaking research and making history before our eyes is a powerful one. The three men are shown discovering new material and creating a new history as Polynesians, drawing on both Polynesian and European sources. This is not the kind of Western knowledge production with which the Western academy is most familiar. And that is the point. Here, in the telling of a new, parallel narrative, a new scenario is being made in the Pacific, by Polynesians. As Cook's biography is displaced in the film by Tupaia's, so too the Western texts are subverted into Polynesian history making and the collections of artefacts held in British Institutions serve Polynesian purposes. This is a repatriation of knowledge creation, of history making, relocating it in Te Moananui and the bodies of Polynesian people. This Polynesian history making extends beyond the film's frame, illustrated by the example of a focus on the crew

of the Pacific Voyagers project that we meet along the way. Knowledge travelled and was exchanged through the film's encounters and had consequences. Behaviour changed and new knowledge was created. We also see in the detail of the film itself some of the unknowns and ambiguities of cross-cultural encounters. We see how the film is being made, we see how the techniques are being used, and so we can examine it as a dynamic site of knowledge creation.

The degree of improvisation in the making of the film is reflected in the re-enactments. We witness Māori improvising their response to the *Endeavour's* arrival, and we witness the improvisations of Cook and Banks. These layered moments offer us the opportunity to reflect on the complexities of encounters both historically and in later and contemporary retellings. Furthermore, what we do not see in the film, but is evident from the interviews, is the extent of improvisation in the cross-cultural encounters involved in the film's making, suggesting that it is an intrinsic and inevitable feature of cross-cultural encounters. In *Tupaia's Endeavour*, dissonance is given space and time to be seen and experienced. The film's gentle humour creates an affective environment in which differences can breathe. There is much that is unresolved, and that is another strength. Resolution is an active process, not a resting state. The enrichment of the Western sources and approaches through the way this film has been made illustrates both the limits of one dominant perspective and the opportunities of bringing multiple perspectives to bear. One opportunity is to contest the illusion of the authority of both documentary film and the Western archive and thus democratise and diversify the making of history, endeavouring to validate and respect difference.

Chapter 6. Conclusions

> No history is mute. No matter how much they own it, break it, and lie about it, human history refuses to shut its mouth. Despite deafness and ignorance, the time that was continues to tick inside the time that is.
>
> Eduardo Galeano

This thesis has built on previous work on place, encounter, and performance by interrogating through its case studies how the concepts of archive, repertoire, and scenario developed by Diana Taylor can be used to enhance understanding of cross-cultural relationships in 'the contact zone'. I have proposed the concept of a scenario of encounter as a means of rendering visible the framing, processes, and behaviours that typically lie behind-the-scenes in contemporary cross-cultural encounters activated through commemorations of historical events. The scenario of encounter has been used as an analytical lens in four case studies chosen for their different combinations of forms, processes, times, and places. The case study approach brought different forms of archive and repertoire alongside each other for the inter-relationships between them to be examined, enabling the richness of diverse cross-cultural encounters in a variety of contexts to be set out in juxtaposition. This concluding chapter has three parts. Firstly, I bring together my conclusions about the scenario of encounter across the case studies; secondly I consider the implications of the findings of the thesis for professional practice in galleries, libraries, and museums; and finally, I develop theoretical speculations that emerge from the thesis.

Chapter 2 cast the Endeavours and subsequent historians in a similar light as they each made histories from the events that took place at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa between 8 and 11 October 1769. The Endeavours' experiences, like the histories they wrote, were bound up in webs of relationships with past, present, and future. Their journals reveal the extent to which their prior experience, their social relationships on the *Endeavour*, and their anticipated audiences all affected what they saw, how they experienced it, and how they wrote their histories. The generations of historians who followed them were bound in similar ways to their own webs of relationships, as are contemporary historians and, indeed, as am I. Writing about historical cross-cultural encounters creates contemporary cross-cultural encounters in some form. Using the concept of the scenario of encounter to make sense of these relationships suggests both similarities and differences between the histories created by the Endeavours and those of subsequent historians. The first similarity is that cross-cultural encounter is in some sense imposed. The Endeavours were borne to Te Moananui on a wave of exploration and discovery in the certain belief of their right to know. Whether or not those they met wished to be 'discovered' and 'known' was a question rarely, if ever, asked. Such an assumption still underlies much academic research that generates cross-cultural encounters today, although that is changing, for example in the work of authors such as Salmond and Thomas to recognise Indigenous epistemologies, and as the work of Indigenous scholars such as Linda Tuhiwai Smith and Amber Nicholson impacts cross-cultural research. Secondly, the Endeavours struggled with the dissonance that followed contact and responded with lethal violence, shooting and killing several people. While violence of this kind is not a feature of academic research, Linda Tuhiwai Smith and others clearly explain the impact that Western research continues to have on Indigenous peoples, which may be experienced as a form of violence.

Yet a distinction between the Endeavours' and subsequent historians' response to dissonance is revealed by considering who controlled the sites of encounter. At Tūranganui-a-Kiwa between 8 and 11 October 1769, the local iwi were clearly in control. The Endeavours attempted to use lethal military technology to impose themselves, and they failed. Today, Western academic research dominates the sites of encounter, through social and cultural conventions, language, economy, and technology. Recall Tuhiwai Smith's point: the issues are not the choice of methods but the "context in which research problems are conceptualised and designed and the implications of research for its participants and their communities" (2012: xi). Similarities and distinctions also emerged from examining processes of resolution. For both the Endeavours and the historians who followed them, there seems to be an imperative to resolve dissonance in some form or another; there must be a conclusion. The Endeavours resolved their sense of dissonance by creating a myth of self-defence to justify their killing. Many historians, with notable exceptions, have perpetuated this myth and some continue to do so. In contrast, some Western academic historians are increasingly seeking ways of working with Indigenous peoples in creating histories from both sides of the beach. These may favour a form of resolution based on the idea of a balanced or holistic narrative. Yet this too can be a form of imposition, unless ways are found to recognise and respect difference, allowing the form of resolution to remain open. Some variants from conventional Western academic writing have appeared which illustrate how this may be achieved, including forms which convey multiple dissonant voices and perspectives (such as Huggins, Huggins, and Jacobs 1995). What is clear from Chapter 2 is that control of the site of encounter is an important factor in the way the scenario of encounter plays out, whether that be the physical beach or coastline, or the social institutions, conventions, and textual forms of the Western academy.

In Chapter 3, I used the scenario of encounter in a study of commemorations at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa over more than a century, from 1905 to 2019. Until the most recent programme of events, the commemorations showed remarkable consistency. Contact was imposed through the adoption and celebration of the *Endeavour's* landfall as a foundational moment for the settler state, and through the acquisition of land and the inscription of memorials upon it. The expression of cultural differences was subdued, suppressed, or erased completely in the speeches and records of events. The overwhelming impression from the press reports and publications is that there was no dissent, no racism. Historical events that might have revealed difference and may have created uncomfortable experiences of dissonance were simply left out of speeches, or, if they were mentioned, were consigned to the past so that harmonious resolution could be celebrated instead. Yet there are clues in the archives of these encounters that suggest dissonance and multiple perspectives were present behind-the-scenes. This is particularly evident in 1969, in the debate about whether to stage a re-enactment of Cook's landing, and discussions about relationships between the local and national committees and local iwi more broadly. An underlying factor is again who had control of the site of encounter. The presence of displays of local settler and regional Western military strength are constant reminders of this. Yet even in the shadow of overwhelming military presence in the settler-dominated celebrations of 1969, Māori held ground and status, more evidently during the official, national programme than the local, civic programme. The pōwhiri at the arrival of the Governor-General was the most symbolic example, its power and importance readily apparent in the audio recordings of the event.[333]

[333] Available here: https://ngataonga.org.nz/collections/catalogue/catalogue-item?record_id=230786, [accessed 17 August 2020].

By the time of the 2019 anniversary, in the intervening fifty years, much had changed in the balance of power between Māori and Crown, between Māori and the settler society more widely, and between Māori and Pākehā locally. Control of the site of encounter was no longer as one-sided as it had been for over a century. This difference in power relationships led to very different uses of social and physical places during the commemorative events in 2019. The organising body was independent of the District Council. The Trustees of the body were drawn from across the local Māori and Pākehā community. The general manager was Māori. The contrast with the Celebrations Committee of 1969, with Mayor H. H. Barker at its head, could not be clearer. These organisational and social distinctions were expressed in the choice of physical sites too. The Te Hā Trust had its own offices. The focus of events was an area of land at or very near to the place where Māori massed to confront the Endeavours on their second landing. Podiums and platforms were absent – encounters took place ka nohi ki te ka nohi, face to face, eye to eye, on a level field. The official party was welcomed to the place by the local iwi and treated as visitors. The Polynesian flotilla was given precedence in the maritime places, arriving before the Western ships. Significantly, there was also space to experience differences of opinion both before and during the anniversary week. A series of kōrero conversations was held over several months leading up to the 2019 anniversary, where dissonant voices could be heard together and respected "without fear of reprimand," as one interviewee put it.[334] There was a place for protests during the anniversary events. One of the anniversary's legacies was the inscription of public art in the landscape, reflecting the changed relationships manifest in the events, where Te Maro replaced Cook, and contemporary

[334] Interview 9, 2 November 2018.

Māori tukutuku (woven panel) art framed the Cook monument. Place served as a surrogate for power and a site for its negotiation through both performance and inscription – repertoire and archive.

The sites in the London case study broadened and diversified the spatial range of the analysis. Chapter 4 provided an opportunity to focus on the ways that Taylor's work might relate to and interact with the concept of the museum contact zone, also facilitating a closer examination of the relationship between her concepts of the archive and the repertoire. Firstly, it provided a contrasting place to the settler-colonial Aotearoa New Zealand in which to consider the scenario of encounter concept. In the case of the three London cultural institutions, contact in cross-cultural encounters was imposed by the location and possession of taonga. Regardless of methods of acquisition, as long as taonga are held in cultural institutions, ongoing relationships with Indigenous people are constituted on an unequal foundation. How each side decides to recognise and deal with this is at the heart of contemporary cross-cultural encounters in this context. Feelings of discomfort are almost inevitable and such dissonance can be faced or avoided, examples of both being widespread in the cross-cultural encounters generated by the exhibitions and their public programmes. These were recognised by the cultural professionals involved in the three Travellers' Tails workshops referred to, several of whom commented on issues of privacy and ethics, and highlighted the stress involved under such circumstances. The spatial analysis showed how control of and decisions about the use of space played a crucial part in the way institutions responded to experiences of dissonance. Some places seem to be more difficult for institutions to relinquish control over, specifically principal gallery spaces and symbolic public spaces. Where any degree of control was accorded or ceded in these spaces, it was spatially confined in some way, such as by medium, illustrated by the British Library's audio-

visual installations in *James Cook: The Voyages*, or where performance was admitted in the guise of artefact – repertoire translated into archive, exemplified by Lisa Reihana's *In Pursuit of Venus [infected]*. In other places more marginal to the institution, some degree of control was more easily shared with Indigenous individuals and groups. One of the most encouraging points in Chapter 4 emerges from thinking about resolution in the context of the scenario of encounter. From the account of discussions within the London heritage institutions, resolution is at least sometimes understood by staff as an ongoing and uneven process. Throughout the examples, staff recognised that dealing with the dissonance generated in encounters is not a one-off event. Resolutions were found for the contingencies of the specific galleries, exhibitions, and events, but were not always expected to somehow resolve issues once and for all. In short, it is recognised by some staff within the cultural institutions that these encounters are and should be part of ongoing relationships, where new cross-cultural encounters will occur. Indeed, it is how such relationships are activated. Questions nonetheless remain about the ways and the places in which participants are able to engage with dissonance, especially the ways in which it can take place within the institution's social and physical places.

Chapter 4 also drew out distinctions and relationships between archive and repertoire in different places. The first example is the favouring of archive over repertoire in principal galleries, where most performances included are translated into archive form, illustrated by Lisa Reihana's *In Pursuit of Venus [infected]*. The second, explored in more detail below is the hidden institutional definition of the scale of the artefact. This relates to Taylor's broader framing of what constitutes the archive to include monuments, furniture, and architecture. Indigenous artists created individual or collaborative artworks for inclusion as artefacts in main gallery spaces. Where Indigenous artwork might engage with the broader

fabric of furniture and architecture, institutional agency typically dominates, and this defines the limits of discourse about the agency of Indigenous work. The lighting for the installation *Rangiiwaho: Ihu Ki Te Moana* in the National Maritime Museum's *Pacific Encounters* gallery was dictated in relation to the furniture not the artwork, by the museum institution, not the Indigenous artists. When the institutions define the scale of the artefact, the furniture, rooms, and buildings become the background to discussions about objects, remaining under effectively invisible institutional control.

The third example I highlight here is the framing of performances such as those by Beats of Polynesia and Ngāti Rānana as distinct from institutional behaviours such as speeches by senior staff. In the opening events that took place in the institutions' main public places such as the British Library's Foyer and the National Maritime Museum's Neptune Court, Indigenous presence was cast in the form of audience or performers, distinguishing it from the institutional presence. Viewing the institutional behaviour at these events, mainly the speeches, 'as performance' challenges this distinction, as does viewing the Indigenous performances themselves 'as performance,' such as Ngāti Rānana's diplomatic agency at the British Library. Unchallenged, such distinctions create a focus on some behaviours and leave others as unquestioned background, as 'normal' everyday behaviour. As noted in Chapter 4, important work is being done in other institutions, such as the Pitt Rivers Museum, to focus on institutional behaviours 'as performance' and to engage with, rather than suppress, dissonance.[335] There were very few examples of performances taking place in principal galleries. The presence of performances translated into the form of archive was far more common, video being the main medium through which it was

[335] Peers, L., (2017).

achieved. Lisa Reihana's *In Pursuit of Venus [infected]* is an exceptionally powerful work that blurs the boundaries between archive and repertoire.

Finally, Chapter 5 closely examined the archive form of Lala Rolls' feature film *Tupaia's Endeavour* in its relationships with performance and with place. The film project's relationship to the scenario of encounter is more complex than that of the previous case studies. For example, contact was not so clearly imposed. While screenings of the film featured in several commemorative programmes in both London and Aotearoa New Zealand, it was not conceived in relation to the 250th anniversary. Although, as the date approached, the film project developed an ever-closer relationship with it. So, many of the encounters generated by the film emerged from existing cross-cultural relationships, not new ones created because of the anniversary. Those relationships, such as between Rolls, Tapsell, Tuffery, and Torrance, are also more complex than those between the curators of London's cultural institutions and Indigenous artists, diplomats, and diaspora communities. The point is an important reminder of the unbounded and complex nature of concepts of culture embedded in the term cross-cultural encounter. London's cultural institutions, such as the British Library, Royal Academy, and the National Maritime Museum, are not homogenous or monolithic, or at least they are much less so than they used to be. Indigenous curators and other staff work within them and in partnership with them; Indigenous artists and researchers cross the boundary between inside and outside more frequently. So, cross-cultural contact in the making of the film was different; it was not imposed in the same ways as those highlighted in Chapters 2 to 4. There were nonetheless cross-cultural encounters in the making of *Tupaia's Endeavour*, and the relationship to place is important here too. For example, the way cross-cultural encounters took place during filming in Tahiti was not the same as in Aotearoa New Zealand. Even when contact was not

being imposed, there were still experiences of dissonance, which was just as difficult to deal with as in the preceding case studies. Relationships between the film and its audiences also differed from place to place. Focusing on the dynamics of resolution in the narrative and making of *Tupaia's Endeavour* suggests that the film challenges the idea of an imposed, harmonious resolution. It recognises and embraces the multiple histories that have been made about the *Endeavour* voyage. Indeed, it creates new ones too, Polynesian ones, and it does so by challenging the boundaries between archive and repertoire, reminiscent of the ways *In Pursuit of Venus [infected]* did. *Tupaia's Endeavour* was a self-aware film project that created and recorded the making of a new history of Tupaia. It made the making of history through film part of its narrative. And it left much unresolved; it opened doors and asked questions more than it gave definitive answers. Echoing the comments of staff in the Travellers' Tails workshops mentioned in Chapter 4, there was a recognition in the film that resolution is not a one-off event. History is made and remade in the present.

The case studies, then, examined, interrogated, and tested the idea of a scenario of encounter. They did so through different combinations of times, places, and forms. Differences between the cases reflect the contingencies of time and place. Some events appear more open-ended than others, with more evident improvisation, such as Tuia – Encounters 250, *Oceania*, and *Tupaia's Endeavour*. Yet continuities and consistencies are also evident. Elements of an underlying scenario appear in all the commemorative events at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa from 1906 to 1969. The framing of cross-cultural encounters was similar across the London institutions. And the difficulties of understanding culture and encounter are magnified when examined in the context of a Polynesian film rather than a binary colonial-Indigenous context. Taylor's concept of a scenario is well-suited as a starting point for this thesis because it explicitly recognises consistencies at one level – that of the

scenario – while also acknowledging differences at another – the narrative. In proposing a scenario of encounter, I have suggested a three-part model. Rather than a deterministic three-stages of encounter, I understand the model as a sequence from one moment to the next. Logically, if cultures are not aware of each other, then differences remain undiscovered and the dissonance that might accompany that awareness remains beyond experience. Some form of contact or at least awareness precedes such an experience of dissonance. Likewise, any response to dissonance can only follow the experience of it. The idea of a scenario is of a broad set up of events, framed by elements which are less visible in the narrative, elements which make some outcomes more likely than others, at least in part because those elements remain in the background. Thus, the sequence of contact, dissonance, and resolution indicates broad framings within which multiple outcomes are always possible. One fundamental point that emerges from the case studies, especially in Chapters 3 and 5, is that when the scenario is brought into focus, it can be changed, enabling a wider range of narratives to be created. A further fundamental point is the role of place; it is one of those background elements. Place influences narrative events at a broad scale, with differences evident between the four case studies. Tūranganui-a-Kiwa Poverty Bay is a different place from London, and each has its own histories, cultures, and people creating contingent conditions for cross-cultural encounters. Within each place, for example in London, there are also clear differences in the use of space between the three cultural institutions. The use of space in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa was also different from 1969 to 2019. I have associated the place differences with power, particularly in how performance in different places reflects underlying power relationships. The spatial analysis seeks to differentiate places and their associated power relationships, as elements of scenarios, to render their roles more visible, to understand how they might change and be changed. In so

doing, the heterogeneity and associated complexities of the concept of the contact zone are also brought into focus.

What are the implications of the findings of the thesis for professional practice in the gallery, library, and museum sector? Here I highlight, above all, the value of a spatial approach to contemporary cross-cultural encounters. I argue that this offers a way of approaching some of the many concerns that have been raised and explored in the museum community in recent decades, notably with reference to the 'contact zone'. Firstly, a spatial approach is a useful way of framing questions. The thesis shows that where encounters take place matters and the use of space in those places also matters. How the space is experienced by those involved in cross-cultural encounters reflects the power relationships between the parties and their projection into institutional spaces. Asking questions about which spaces to use, how they are arranged, and how they are experienced as sites of performance can all contribute to rendering visible the kinds of framing that risk perpetuating unequal and discriminatory encounters witnessed in contact zone encounters.

Diana Taylor's work from performance studies both interacts with and enhances this spatial approach. Viewing everyday behaviours 'as performance' can also help generate useful questions. Who is here? What are their roles? Where are they able to go? What are they expected to do? How do they experience their place? What power relationships do the performances express? Furthermore, with a closer focus on Taylor's conceptions of archive and repertoire, the approach developed in this thesis also suggests questions such as 'how are artefacts, or objects more broadly, defined within a broader material context?' and 'what is defined as a performance within the context of everyday behaviour viewed as performance'? The assertion of distinctions is a manifestation of power; this is an exhibit, this is not; this is a performance, this is not. Such distinctions are part of the framing power

of scenarios. Once made, they are not easily re-made. How they are drawn includes or excludes certain participants. Rendering them visible and a focus of attention can facilitate changes to cross-cultural encounters. Questioning what, when, how, and who makes such distinctions has significant value in developing relationships to create genuinely open-ended futures. Such an approach implies a focus on relationships first and objects second and might help modify the kind of extractive encounter still in evidence in such encounters. Instead of, or at least as well as, asking how we can improve our exhibitions and our knowledge that underlies them, we can try and understand Indigenous peoples' aims and struggles and ask how choices in our institutions can facilitate them.

Thirdly and finally, there are several more speculative threads that I wish to draw out here. Firstly, and building on the above implications for practice, focusing on relationships between power and place offers opportunities to examine choices about who does what and where in cross-cultural encounters. In making such choices, questions can be asked about who is here and who is not? How are they able or unable to take their places here? What can we do about that? Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti Museum and Art Gallery offers a model of an open approach to control of place: "We don't consider the taonga we have to be ours, regardless of the legal position. … We have twenty exhibitions a year. I think of us as a community facility. I have no interest in controlling all of that. I've shifted my thinking to managing a facility for the community to have their own unfiltered voice."[336] One of many questions raised by this thesis is what impact the status of some cultural institutions as national has on their decisions about control of different places within and

[336] Interview 4, 29 October 2018.

around their buildings? Could national cultural institutions adopt a similar approach to Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti Museum and Art Gallery? If so, how? If not, why?

A second thread is that there are clear opportunities for Indigenous challenges, negotiation, and agency in all three elements of the proposed scenario of encounter. By focusing on the scenario as well as the narratives, contact may be negotiated rather than its imposition accepted, as the examples of the engagement of the voyaging community in Tuia – Encounters 250 nationally, and the formation and approach of the Te Hā Trust locally show. Dissonance can be encouraged and the experience of it shared, as the examples of the Te Hā Trust's kōrero series and the Pitt Rivers Museum film show. And the imposition of closed resolution can be challenged by the negotiation of ongoing relationships between institutions and Indigenous researchers and artists. As noted above, such challenges and negotiations can also take place around the definitions of what counts as archive and what does not, what counts as a performance and what does not, and around the relationship between archive and repertoire in specific installations in specific places, from bodies to buildings. Opportunities for such challenges are not easy or simple to deal with, nor without cost and impact, but they are there.

A third thread is the recognition that in any encounter, not only can more than one narrative be told, but more than one narrative takes place. More than one thing happens in what appear to be singular events. It is possible to see that the settler state of Aotearoa New Zealand co-opted what Tina Ngata described as 'brown-ness' to validate the Tuia – Encounters 250 commemorations and that the pōwhiri ka nohi ki te ka nohi changed and manifested change; both happened in the same event. Indigenous presence was segregated into the audio-visual installations in the British Library's *James Cook: The Voyages* and created dissonant performances in the main gallery space. The performances of haka across

the centuries and miles sustained the knowledge and practice at the same time as they participated in celebrations of the settler state's foundational narrative. A documentary film may create cultural assets for a settler state at the same time as it both creates and models a Polynesian making of history. Such multiplicity is not limited to only two co-existing narratives, but they serve to illustrate the point. This is a feature of the contact zone. James Clifford recognises the layered and multiple occurrences in his Portland museum case study; while "Tlingit history did not primarily illuminate or contextualize the objects … rather the objects provoked ongoing stories of struggle," both occurred in the same encounter. Recalling Cresswell's and Massey's work introduced at the start of the thesis, such multiplicity is well-recognised in open-ended understandings of place. The value of applying Taylor's work in this context is that it facilitates a focus on the role of place and its relationship to performances of power in scenarios.

A further thread is that of individual relationships, the personal scale of cross-cultural encounters, and the risks faced in taking part in them. This was a feature of all four case studies. In Chapter 2, I drew attention to the actions of individuals such as Tupaia, Te Rakau, and Marukawiti who laid the red coat on Te Rakau's body. In Chapter 3, some of the personal stories included Charles Ferris and Salvation Army Major Perry in 1905, Mayor Barker and Pita Kaua in 1969, and the voyaging community representatives and Dame Jenny Shipley in 2019. In the London cultural institutions, the work of Crystal Te Moananui Squares, Jo Walsh, Steve Gibbs, and individual members of staff who participated in the personal relationships through which cross-cultural encounters there took place. And in the making of *Tupaia's Endeavour*, it is through the numerous decisions and conversations of individuals that those cross-cultural encounters created knowledge and history. One of the three elements I have proposed for a scenario of encounter is dissonance, experiences of

difference that are unsettling, uncomfortable, and provocative. Recall Balme's comments: "contact situations are located in a liminal space between *imprévu* and *déjà vu*" (2006: 19). *Imprévu* reflects the unknown and the unpredictable, while *déjà vu* reflects the familiar and the assumed. Scenarios offer a way of understanding how personal cross-cultural encounters navigate these two experiences.

My final speculations about the potential value of scenarios, then, suggest ways that they might be applied. At one level, scenarios allow us to recognise within them the need for and familiarity with a set of assumptions for encounters with the unknown. Where there is no shared scenario, improvisation is harder, the experience of dissonance more threatening, and the likelihood of positive outcomes diminished. At another level, the concept of scenarios allows us to bring such assumptions into focus and by so doing to recognise them as mutable. Bringing the scenario into focus is helped by a recognition of the ways what Taylor calls the archive and the repertoire are treated differently. Essential to this recognition is the importance of place. Examples from the case studies, such as the Royal Academy's *Oceania*, Lala Rolls' *Tupaia's Endeavour*, and especially of the Te Hā Trust's participation in Tuia – Encounters 250, suggest that such a focus can aid the development of a place-based scenario designed to support cross-cultural encounters where dissonance, uncomfortable as it is, can be met with dignity.

Orthography, Conventions, and Glossary

Following recent academic convention (such as Margert Werry 2011), I have not italicised words in te reo Māori. A simple contextual translation is given at least the first time they are used, with more detailed information given below. I also apply current conventions for the use of the macron accent. I have chosen to use the same word 'Māori' for both singular and plural, rather than adding an 's'. This is the way the word is becoming more commonly used in English usage in Aotearoa New Zealand, including on government websites.

I have endeavoured to identify iwi affiliations of all Māori, and to include the affiliation in brackets at their first mention. Where these have not been provided by the individuals themselves, I have relied on online sources. Where I have come across some discrepancies in the sources I have consulted, I have chosen the iwi that is (or are) most frequently mentioned in examples I have found. I regret and apologise for any misidentification or omissions of iwi affiliations in the thesis.

To identify the places in Aotearoa New Zealand I prioritise Māori names, while also aiming to aid some readers to identify them by names with which they will be more familiar. Where I first use a Māori place name, I include the English name; thereafter, I generally use the Māori place name. Tūranganui-a-Kiwa and Tūranganui-a-Kiwa Poverty Bay are sometimes shortened to Tūranga or Tūranganui.

In the extracts from the *Endeavour* journals and logs in Chapter 2, the original spelling and grammar has been retained throughout, without the addition of [sic] to each different spelling to indicate this.

In historic editions of the newspapers cited in Chapter 3, the spelling followed US conventions, and used grammatical conventions that differ from current British usage, both of which I have retained as they are given in the sources.

I use the word archive in two senses: the material archive as used by researchers and archivists, and the concept of the archive as used by Diana Taylor. When using the latter, I have signalled this in the context.

I have used the Oxford comma in this thesis. Having previously avoided it wherever possible, I have sympathy with readers who prefer not to use it. However, there were many occasions where using it clarified potential ambiguities and so I have chosen to apply it throughout.

Aroha: (modifier) loving, affectionate, caring, compassionate, kindly, sympathetic, benevolent.

Awa: (noun) river, stream, creek, canal, gully, gorge, groove, furrow.

Hapū: (noun) kinship group, clan, tribe, subtribe - section of a large kinship group and the primary political unit in traditional Māori society. It consisted of a number of *whānau* sharing descent from a common ancestor, usually being named after the ancestor, but sometimes from an important event in the group's history. A number of related *hapū* usually shared adjacent territories forming a looser tribal federation (*iwi*).

Hei tiki: (noun) an ornamental pendant considered to be taonga and typically made of pounamu, (greenstone).

Hongi: (noun) pressing noses and sharing breath in greeting.

Hui: (noun) gathering, meeting, assembly, seminar, conference.

Ingoa: (noun) name.

Iwi: (noun) extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people, nationality, race - often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor and associated with a distinct territory.

Karakia: (noun) incantation, ritual chant, chant, intoned incantation, charm, spell - a set form of words to state or make effective a ritual activity. *Karakia* are recited rapidly using traditional language, symbols and structures. Traditionally correct delivery of the *karakia* was essential: mispronunciation, hesitation or omissions courted disaster.

Kaupapa: (noun) topic, policy, matter for discussion, plan, purpose, scheme, proposal, agenda, subject, programme, theme, issue, initiative.

Korowai: (noun) cloak.

Mana: (noun) prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma - *mana* is a supernatural force in a person, place or object. *Mana* goes hand in hand with *tapu*, one affecting the other. The more prestigious the event, person or object, the more it is surrounded by *tapu* and *mana*. *Mana* is the enduring, indestructible power of the *atua* and is inherited at birth, the more senior the descent, the greater the *mana*. The authority of *mana* and *tapu* is inherited and delegated through the senior line from the *atua* as their human agent to act on revealed will. Since authority is a spiritual gift delegated by the *atua*, man remains the agent, never the source of *mana*.

Manuhiri: (noun) visitor, guest.

Marae: (noun) courtyard - the open area in front of the *wharenui*, where formal greetings and discussions take place. Often also used to include the complex of buildings around the *marae.*

Maunga: (noun) mountain, mount, peak.

Moana: (noun) sea, ocean, large lake; in this thesis the Pacific Ocean

Moko: (noun) Māori tattooing designs on the face or body done under traditional protocols.

Pepeha: (noun) formulaic description of connections to land and genealogy.

Rangatira: (noun) chief (male or female), chieftain, chieftainess, master, mistress, boss, supervisor, employer, landlord, owner, proprietor - qualities of a leader is a concern for the integrity and prosperity of the people, the land, the language and other cultural treasures (e.g. oratory and song poetry), and an aggressive and sustained response to outside forces that may threaten these.

Rohe: (noun) boundary, district, region, territory, area, border (of land).

Tāngata: (noun) people; singular – tangata.

Taonga: (noun) treasure, anything prized – applied to anything considered to be of value including socially or culturally valuable objects, resources, phenomenon, ideas and techniques.

Tapu: (noun) restriction, prohibition - a supernatural condition. A person, place or thing is dedicated to an *atua* and is thus removed from the sphere of the profane and put into the sphere of the sacred. It is untouchable, no longer to be put to common use. The violation of *tapu* would result in retribution, sometimes including the death of the violator and others involved directly or indirectly. Appropriate *karakia* and ceremonies could mitigate these effects. *Tapu* was used as a way to control how people behaved towards each other and the environment, placing restrictions upon society to ensure that society flourished.

Tika: (verb) to be correct, true, upright, right, just, fair, accurate, appropriate, lawful, proper, valid.

Tikanga: (noun) correct procedure, custom, habit, lore, method, manner, rule, way, code, meaning, plan, practice, convention, protocol - the customary system of values and practices that have developed over time and are deeply embedded in the social context.

Tīpuna/Tūpuna: (noun) ancestors, grandparents; singular tipuna/tupuna. Tupuna is in the western dialect.

Waiata: (noun) song, chant, psalm.

Waka: (noun) canoe, vehicle, conveyance, spirit medium, medium (of an *atua*).

Waka houroua: (noun) double-hulled canoe used for ocean voyaging.

Whakapapa: (noun) genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent - reciting *whakapapa* was, and is, an important skill and reflected the importance of genealogies in Māori society in terms of leadership, land and fishing rights, kinship and status. It is central to all Māori institutions. There are different terms for the types of *whakapapa* and the different ways of reciting them.

Whakataukī: (noun) proverb, significant saying, formulaic saying, cryptic saying, aphorism.

Wharenui: (noun) meeting place.

Whenua: (noun) land, often used in the plural.

Appendix. Interviewees and Artists in *James Cook: The Voyages* AV Films

Listed as credited in the films.

Interviewees:

Anne Iranui McGuire, Cultural Historian, Te Aitanga ā Hauiti, Aotearoa New Zealand.

Professor Dame Anne Salmond, Anthropologist and Pacific Historian.

Arone Meeks, Kuku Midigi Artist, Cape York, Queensland, Australia.

Barney Tupara, Lawyer, Ngāti Oneone, Rongowhakaata, Te Aitanga a Hauiti, Aotearoa New Zealand.

Camilla Nichol, Chief Executive, UK Antarctic Heritage Trust.

Sir David Attenborough, Naturalist and Broadcaster.

Dean Kelly, Aboriginal Community Liaison Officer, National Parks and Wildlife Service, Kamay/Botany Bay, Australia.

Etau Rai, Tattoo Artist, Tahiti.

Gemma Cronin, Badtjala/Cubbi Cubbi Linguist and Artist, K'Gari/Fraser Island, Queensland, Australia.

Hoturoa Barclay Kerr, Master Navigator, Ngāti Mahuta, Ngāti Hikairo, Ngāti Pukenga, Aotearoa New Zealand.

Jeff McMullen, Journalist and Author, Australia.

Jody Wyllie, Curator – Māori Artefacts, Rongowhakaata, Aotearoa New Zealand.

Kirk Torrance, Actor, Ngāti Kahungunu, Aotearoa New Zealand.

Professor Nicholas Thomas, Director of the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge.

Nick Tupara, Artist, Ngāti Oneone, Rongowhakaata, Te Aitanga a Hauiti, Aotearoa New Zealand.

Victor Walker, Senior Advisor Māori, Te Aitanga ā Hauiti, Aotearoa New Zealand.

Yahtloah, Tyee Ha'wilth Chief Mike Maquinna Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation, Yuquot, Vancouver Island, Canada.

Artists whose works were included were:

Alexander Buchan, Daniel Boyd, E. Phillips Fox, Hermann Spöring, John Cleveley, John Webber, Michael Tuffery, Paddy Fordham Wainburranga, Sydney Parkinson, Tupaia, and William Hodges.

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Interviewees and Other Informants

Interviewees

Julie Adams, Curator Oceania Collections, British Museum.

Reverend Stephen Donald, Educator, Anglican Priest and Regional Dean (retired).

Briony Ellis, Freelance Project Manager.

Meng Foon, (ex) Mayor, Gisborne District Council.

Steve Gibbs (Ngāi Tāmanuhiri), Artist, Associate Professor at Toihoukura, School of Contemporary Māori Visual Arts, Eastern Institute of Technology, Gisborne.

Dean Hawkins (Rongowhakaata), Rongowhakaata kaikōrero.

Iona Maxwell (Ngāti Porou, Ngāi Tāmanuhiri), Education Team, Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti Museum and Art Gallery.

Anne Iranui McGuire (Te Aitanga a Hauiti), Historian.

Tapunga Nepe (Rongowhakaata, Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, Te Aitanga a Māhaki, Ngāti Kahnungunu), Kaitieke Māori, Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti Museum and Art Gallery.

Wayne Ngata (Te Aitanga a Hauiti, Ngāti Ira, Ngāti Porou), Chairman Board of Commissioners at Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori.

Julie Noanoa (Te Aitanga a Hauiti), Education Team Leader, Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti Museum and Art Gallery.

Glenis Philip-Barbara (Ngāti Porou and Ngāti Uepōhatu), General Manager, Te Hā Trust

Kay Robin (Ngāi Tāmanuhiri), Artist.

Lala Rolls, Film maker, director/producer *Tupaia's Endeavour.*

Anne Salmond, Dame, Professor of Māori Studies, University of Auckland.

Paul Tapsell (Ngāti Whakaue and Ngāti Raukawa), Professor of Indigenous Studies, Melbourne University.

Jack Thatcher (Ngāi Te Rangi, Ngāti Ranginui, Ngāti Porou and Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti), Master Navigator.

Nedine Thatcher-Swann (Ngāti Porou, Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, Te Aitanga a Hauiti), Chief Executive, Gisborne District Council.

Jody Toroa (Ngāi Tāmanuhiri), Artist.

Kirk Torrance (Ngāti Kahnungunu), Actor.

James Tremlett, Oceans Kaupapa, Te Hā Trust.

Michael Tuffery, Artist.

Eloise Wallace Kaiwhakahaere/Director, Te Whare Taonga o Te Tairāwhiti Museum and Art Gallery.

Travellers' Tails Workshop Participants[337]

British Library

Huw Rowlands, Project Manager, Modern Archives and Manuscripts.

Emma Tutton, Access and Outreach Programmes Manager.

Laura Walker, Curator, Modern Archives and Manuscripts.

Royal Academy of Arts

Olivia Bladen, Families, Learning Team.

Rebecca Bray, Assistant Curator.

Molly Bretton, Access, Learning Team.

[337] Each of the three workshops had some, not all, of the participants listed.

Flora Fricker, Senior Exhibitions Manager.

Adrian Locke, Curator.

Hannah Murray, Exhibitions Organiser.

Beth Schneider, Head of Learning.

Royal Museums Greenwich

Maria Amidu, Travellers' Tails Programme Manager.

Daniel Baker, Independent Programmer.

Rachel Raisbeck, Visitor Services Assistant.

Sophie Richards, Exhibitions Interpretation Curator.

Joanna Salter, Senior Manager: Participation.

Mercy Sword, Manager, Travellers' Tails MOOC.

Captain Cook Memorial Museum, Whitby.

Maria Aparicio, Operations Manager.

Denise Murphy, Volunteer Coordinator.

Miriam Shone, Community Liaison Officer.

Clair Stones, Education Officer.

Flow Associates (Facilitators)

Susanne Buck, (Consultant, Flow Associates).

Bridget McKenzie, (Consultant, Flow Associates).

<u>Other Informants</u>

Barrett, K., (2017). Curator of Art, Royal Museums Greenwich.

Bligh, Stuart, (2020). Head of Research and Information, Royal Museums Greenwich.

Meadows, D. (2020). Curator of Photography, Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti Museum and Art Gallery.

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The Gisborne District Council Archives

The archives are situated at Banks Street, Gisborne. I accessed files between 29 October and 7 November 2018 under the supervision and with the generous help of Mahea Tupara and Christine Middleton. The documents cited in the thesis (with the archive file references) are, in chronological order:

Minutes of the Public Meeting in Gisborne of 26 September 1966, (C/13/4B 89C).

Minutes of the Cook Bicentenary Celebrations Committee 29 November 1966, (C/13/4B 89C).

Minutes of Celebrations Sub-committee Meeting on 8 June 1967, (C/13/4B 89C).

Report from the Executive to the Cook Bicentenary Celebrations Committee 24 July 1967, (C/13/4B 89C).

Letter from W. Hudson (Town Clerk) to the Chief of the Naval Staff and Chief of the Air Staff 29 November 1967, (C/13/4B 89C).

Letter from W. Hudson (Town Clerk) to the British High Commissioner 7 February 1968, (D/09/4A H3 F1).

Minutes of the Cook Bicentenary Celebrations Committee 21 March 1968, (C/13/4B 89C F2).

Letter from W. Hudson (Town Clerk) to the Secretary of Defence 17 January 1969, (C/13/4C R9C F4).

Minutes of the Cook Bicentenary Celebrations Committee 17 February 1969, (C/13/4C R9C F4).

Notes of the Meeting of the Inter-Departmental Working Committee 16 May 1969, (C/13/4C R9C F6).

Notes of the Meeting of the Inter-Departmental Working Committee 6 June 1969, (C/13/4C R9C F6).

Notes of the Meeting of the Inter-Departmental Working Committee 19 June 1969, (C/13/4C R9C F6).

Letter from W. Hudson to the Chairman and Members of the Cook Bicentenary celebrations Committee 23 June 1969, (C/13/4C R9C F6).

The folders consulted which informed the broader interpretation in the thesis are:

Description 1	Description 2	Close Date
Celebration, Event	New Zealand 1990 - Official Commemoration	26/10/1990
Contract	CONSTRUCTION OF ROAD - CAPTAIN COOK MEMORIAL PARK	1969
	MEMORABILIA EX SETON CLARE - 1969 COOK LANDING BI-CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS	1969-1970
	MEMORABILIA EX SETON CLARE - 1990 TREATY OF WAITANGI 150 YEARS CELEBRATIONS	1989-1990
Council Funding & Grants - Celebrations, Events, Workshops & Conventions	CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS	1977-1978
	COOK BICENTENARY - CELEBRATIONS	1969
Environment - Reserves, Domains & Parks	COOK MEMORIAL RESERVE	1969-1983
	COOK MEMORIAL RESERVE	1983-1988
	COOK MEMORIAL ANNIVERSARY 1985	1985
	COOK BICENTENARY MEMORIAL includes Kaiti Hill Observatory	1965-1968
	COOK BICENTENARY MEMORIAL includes Kaiti Hill Observatory	1969-1970
	COOK BICENTENARY MEMORIAL includes Kaiti Hill Observatory	1970-1979
Council Funding & Grants - Celebrations, Events, Workshops & Conventions	COOK BICENTENARY - CELEBRATIONS	1966-1968
	COOK BICENTENARY - CELEBRATIONS	1968
	COOK BICENTENARY - CELEBRATIONS	1968
	COOK BICENTENARY - CELEBRATIONS	1968-1969
	COOK BICENTENARY - CELEBRATIONS	1969
	COOK BICENTENARY - CELEBRATIONS	1969
	COOK BICENTENARY - CELEBRATIONS	1969
	COOK BICENTENARY - CELEBRATIONS	1969-1970
	COOK BICENTENARY - CELEBRATIONS	1970-1971
	COOK CELEBRATIONS - AFTER BICENTENARY	1970

	COOK BICENTENARY CENTENNIAL BALL - INVITATION LIST - A TO I	1969
	COOK BICENTENARY CENTENNIAL BALL - INVITATION LIST - J TO Z	1969
	COOK BICENTENARY CENTENNIAL BALL - INVITATION LIST	1969
	BALL - OFFICIAL GUEST	1969
Historic Publications	HISTORY - 225TH ANNIVERSARY OF CAPTAIN COOK'S LANDING	1993-1994
	HISTORY - 225TH ANNIVERSARY OF CAPTAIN COOK'S LANDING - NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS	1994
Council, Committees & Boards	CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS	1975-1977
Council, Committees & Boards	CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS	1977
	Captain Cook Landing Site, Monument, Historic Reserve, Hirini Street Cemetery, Williams Family, Various Historic Areas - Passenger Wharf, Waikahua College Site, History of Titirangi Reserve	1956-1975
	Captain Cook Landing Site, Monument, Historic Reserve, Hirini Street Cemetery, Williams Family, Various Historic Areas - Passenger Wharf, Waikahua College Site, History of Titirangi Reserve	1975-1984
	COOK BICENTENARY CELEBRATIONS	1967-1970
	PUBLICITY & PROMOTION	1989-1992
	PUBLICITY & PROMOTION	1988-1989
Monuments & Statues	STATUES/MONUMENTS - CAPTAIN COOK STATUE	1994
Research	Report from National Historical Committee - Internal Affairs dated 11/12/1938	1938-1946
	225TH ANNIVERSARY CAPTAIN COOK'S LANDING	1992-1994
	COOK BI-CENTENARY 1969 & CENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS 1977	1977-1989
	CCC & GCC CENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS	1976-1978
	COOK BICENTENARY CELEBRATIONS & ANNIVERSARIES OF COOK LANDING	1966-1975
Celebrations, Events, Workshops & Conventions	Gisborne City Council & Cook County Council	1952
Mayor	225th Anniversary Captain Cooks Celebrations	8/11/1994
	James Cook - Charitable Trust	12/05/2008
	James Cook - Charitable Trust	5/12/2006
Monuments & Statues	Captain Cooks Statue - Kaiti Hill	16/04/2008
	Captain Cooks Monument - Kaiti Beach Road	5/12/2002
	Cooks Statue - Waikanae	1/11/2000
Publicity & Promotion	Captain Cooks 225th Anniversary Celebrations	5/10/1994

Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti Museum and Art Gallery Archives

Three series lists covered the archives consulted at Te Whare Taonga o te Tairāwhiti Museum and Art Gallery: Cook Commemorations; The Cook Landing Site Working Party; and The Captain Cook Statue Investigative Group.

Cook Commemorations

1 Cook Bicentennial Week 3 Oct 1969

1.1 The Gisborne Herald Cook Bicentenary Supplement, 6 October 1969 [2 copies]

1.2 Captain Cook Bi-Centennial Commemorative Issue : Journal of the Tauranga Historical Society No. 37 August 1969 [2 copies]

1.3 Landfall : Cook Bicentenary Poverty Bay

1.4 Advertising material : Adair Bros. "Gisborne's leading retail store"

1.5 The New Zealand Listener : Tv and radio programmes October 6-12

1.6 Cook Bicentenary celebrations souvenir : Photo News special edition October 11th 1969 [2copies]

1.7 Programme : Cook Week Oct. 3-12 1969 [3 copies]

1.8 Brewnews shareholders copy : Captain Cook Bicentenary issue July 1969

1.9 Map Commemorating the bicentenary of James Cook's first New Zealand landing at Gisborne, October 9th, 1769

1.10 Community act of worship ....Sunday, 12th October, 1969. Order of Service.

1.11 The Remarkable voyages of Captain James Cook, RN [leaflet from NZ Forest Products]

1.12 Cook Year in Gisborne 1969 schedule of activities

1.13 Naval service to commemorate the landing... Cook Memorial 9 October 1969. Order of service

1.14 Programme of events Thursday 9th – Friday 10th October 1969 [2 copies]

1.15 printed envelopes : Cook Bicentenary [2 copies]

1.16 Cook Bicentenary Official Ball 10th October 1969 double ticket

1.17 Cook Bicentenary Air Pageant 11th October 1969 : visitor pass

1.18 Pass and ticket to State Function at Rugby Park 9 October 1969 [2]

1.19 Invitation to J.C. Burland, Naval Service of Commemoration 9 October 1969

1.20 Invitation to John Burland, NZ premier screening of "Courageous Captain Cook" and "The April Fools" to be held at the Regent Theatre, 3rd October 1969

1.21 Invitation to J.C. Burland, State function at Rugby Park 9 October 1969

1.22 Invitation to JC. Burland, Reception at YMCA Hall, 9 October 1969

1.23 Invitation to JC. Burland, Buffet supper onboard HMS London 8 October 1969

1.24 Invitation to JC. Burland, cocktail party in Officers' Mess tent Gisborne Airfield, 4 October 1969

1.25 Invitation to JC. Burland, unveiling of the statue of Captain Cook, 10 October 1969

Invitation to Way, unveiling of the statue of Captain Cook, 10 October 1969

1.26 Invitation to JC. Burland, reception welcoming Second Canadian Escort Squadron, 8 October 1969

1.27 Invitation to JC. Burland, presentation of totem pole, Canada's gift...10 October 1969

1.28 Invitation to JC. Burland, Official civic ceremony, 9 October 1969

1.29 Invitation to JC. Burland, Civic luncheon, 9 October 1969

with second, blank invitation

1.30 invitation to presentation of the statue of 'Young Nick', 10 October 1969

1.31 invitation to Beating retreat ceremony and fireworks display, 9 October 1969

1.32 invitation, Bicentenary Ball, 10 October 1969

1.33 invitation to purchase a ticket for the Bicentenary Ball, 10 October 1969

Double ticket to Official Ball 10 October 1969

1.34 Invitation to opening of an exhibition of articles collected by Capt. James Cook and his officers, and a lecture by Basil Greenhill, 7 October 1969

1.35 Invitation to Community act of worship, 12 October 1969

1.36 Invitation of Royal Overseas League function 10 October 1969

1.37 Invitation to exhibition of an exhibition arranged by the Hydrographer of the Royal Navy, 8 October 1969

1.38 Jaycee "J.C."serviette

2.1 Order to Service. Service to commemorate 204th anniversary of Captain Cook's landing in New Zealand, 7 October 1973

3.1 Invitation to attend a service to be held at the Cook Memorial, 9 October 1977

4.1 1994 225th anniversary

Invitation to event at Poho-o-Rawiri Marae

Draft programme Friday 7 October – Sunday 9 October (2 versions)

Programme for "The Meeting of Two Peoples" Saturday October 8th

Cook Landing Site Working Party

Acc.no. 1993-184_VSL 6522, contents: 1 box 1988 – 1991

1 Minutes, 2 Nov 1988 - 1 Nov 1990

2 Correspondence, Jan/Feb 1989 - 19 Dec 1990

3 Financial Paper, 20 Sep 1990 - 4 Mar 1991

4 Newspaper Clippings, 31 May 1985 - 13 Oct 1990

Captain James Cook Statue Investigative Group

Acc.no. 1994.264, 1999.31_VSL 6520-21, contents: 1 packet

1 Minutes & a piece entitled 'The Great Navigator', 08 Sep 1992 to 25 Mar 1993

2 Arguments for placing Cook's statue at Cook Landing Site, National Historic Reserve

3 Correspondence: 27 Aug 1992 to 04 Mar 1994.

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Hickes, Zachary, Journal – TNA ADM 51/4546/147-7

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Sir Joseph Banks, Letter to Dawson Turner FRS, 1812, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Banks Collection, MS82.

Tupaia. Māori trading a crayfish with Joseph Banks. Drawings illustrative of Captain Cook's first voyage, 1768 -1770, chiefly relating to Otaheite and New Zealand, by A. Buchan, John F. Miller, and others. British Library Add MS 15508, f.12.

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